

LAW AND LEGISLATION NUMBER

VOLUME I

The

NUMBER 4

Quarterly Journal

of the
Society of American Indians

"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount"

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1913

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The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians

The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians is published every three months and is issued as the official organ of the Society.

The editors aim to make the Journal the medium of communication between students and friends of the American Indian, especially between those engaged in the uplift and advancement of the race. Its text matter is the best that can be secured from the pens of Indians who think along racial lines and from non-Indians whose interest in the affairs of the race is a demonstrated fact.

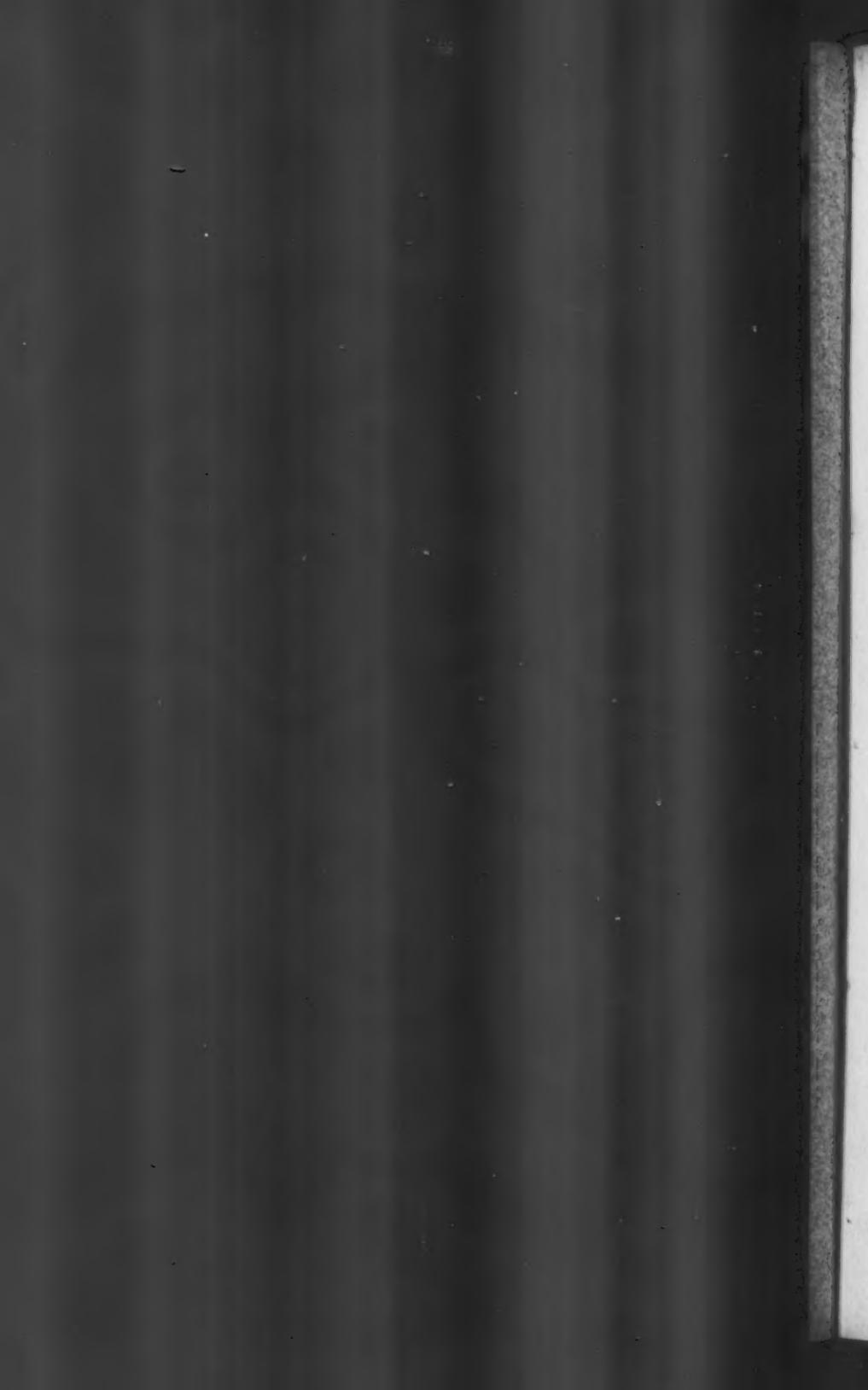
The Editorial Board has undertaken to carry out the purposes of the Society of American Indians and to afford the American Indian a dignified national organ that shall be peculiarly his own, and published independent of any governmental control.

The Editorial Board invites friends of the race to unite with the native American in providing the Journal with a high quality of contributions. Although contributions are reviewed as far as possible, the Journal merely prints them and the authors of accepted articles are responsible for the opinions they express. The ideas and desires of individuals may not be in harmony with the policy or expressed beliefs of the Society but upon a free platform free speech can not be limited. Contributors must realize that the Journal can not undertake to promote individual interests or engage in personal discussions. "The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount."

The purpose of the Journal is to spread as widely as possible for the use of Indians, non-Indian friends, students, social workers and teachers, the ideas and the needs of the race, and to serve as an instrument through and by which the objects of the Society of American Indians may be achieved. We shall be glad to have the American press utilize such material as we may publish where it seems of advantage, and permission will be cheerfully granted providing due credit is given the Journal and the author of the article.

Authors and publishers are invited to send to the Editor-General, for editorial consideration in the Journal such work of racial, scientific or sociological interest as may prove of value to the readers of this publication.

All subscriptions and contributions should be sent to Arthur C. Parker, Editor-General, Barrister Building, Washington, D. C.



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THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

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The Journal is edited by Indians who are university men and actively
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of the race who know the right side of the Indian's story.

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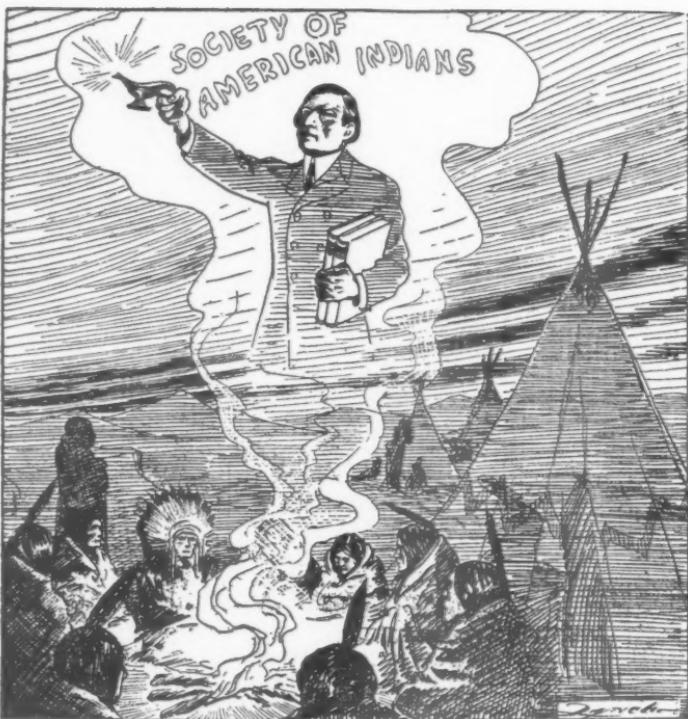
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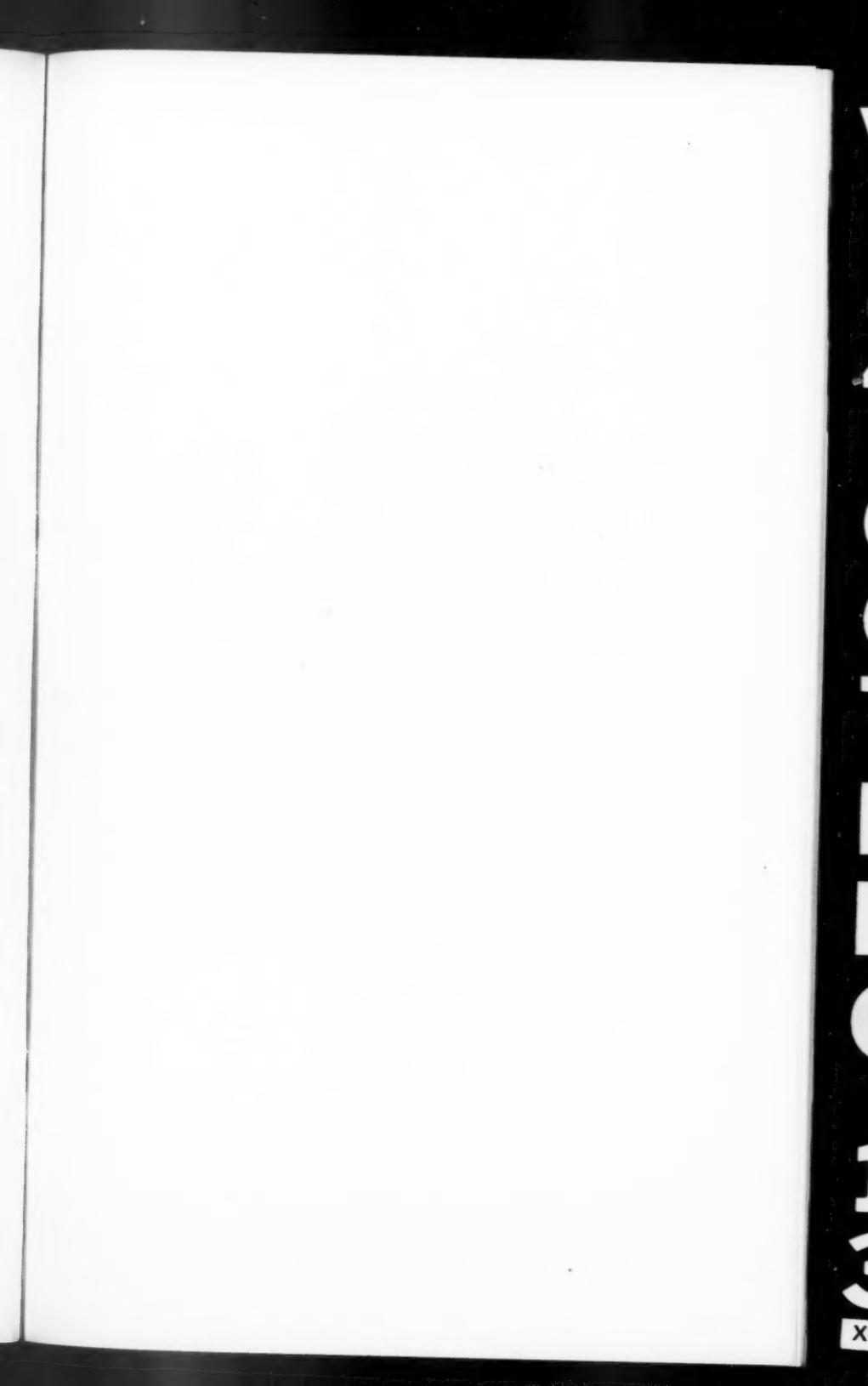
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EVOLUTION



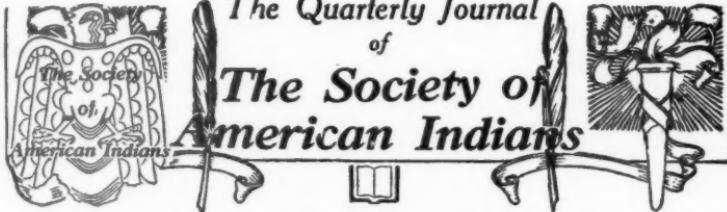
The new Indian-American rises from the dying ashes of the old camp-fires to bring light and new life to the red race. (Lynch in the *Denver News*, October 14, 1913).





WILLIAM J. KERSHAW
(Menominee)

First Vice-President of the Society of American Indians and
Chairman of the Finance Committee. Mr. Kershaw is a suc-
cessful attorney and prominent citizen of the city of Milwaukee.



*The Quarterly Journal
of
The Society of
American Indians*

"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount."

VOL. I WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1913 NO. 4

Current Comment

BY THE EDITOR-GENERAL

*The Denver
Conference*

The Third Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians has passed into the records of human progress as a remarkable event. It was a unique and distinct success. New members came, bringing new life, new ideas, new strength. All types and stages of education were represented — the old and the new.

Dominating the entire conference was one great thought. It was that of putting aside personal ambitions, opinions and differences in order that the great purpose of the Society might be achieved. In the Denver conference there was unity of purpose and harmony of action. There was debate, of course, and a clash of individual ideas, but there was nothing to indicate anything but honesty of purpose and a desire to arrive at the truth.

The conference expressed the hope that the American Indian might now reach out and beyond mere tribal consciousness with its limitations, and lay hold of the vital things that the great nation has to give to every man. The conference issued a call to the American Indian to renew his struggles for rights, for privileges, for development, for life — but on a higher plane than that of the past. It called upon the race to step upward as other races have stepped upward, and to find its rights, its development, its life, in competition with other men. It pointed out the necessity of broader and more thorough education for the young as an equipment for that competition. It emphasized the necessity of recognizing that

with the securing of rights comes the moral duty of showing one's self worthy of those rights; that a man's rights, a race's rights, are only recognized as secure when the man and the race proves ability within themselves to maintain those rights.

As a first measure, the conference demanded that Congress pass the Carter Code Bill. A man must know how he stands in the law before he can hope to reach out; he must have hope for the future if he is to be ambitious. The Carter Code Bill provides for a definition of Indian status and a codification of the law, it asks for a draft of a new systematic law that will clear the way for progress. The conference endorsed the amended Stephens bill which provides that all tribes may enter their claims directly in the Court of Claims without specific permission of Congress in each instance.

The conference thus said in substance: The Indian wishes to do his duty as other men in the nation, he wishes to become a vital part in the life of the nation; but the nation must no longer build a wall to bar the way. The Carter Code Bill will show each Indian what he may do and may not do; it will show him that with his progress will come the high rewards of citizenship. The Stephens bill will prove to him that his material rights are not in jeopardy and that the American nation has not lost its integrity in dealing with the Indian.

Then shall the Indian step forth as a man among men.



*Indian Women
Who Have
Labored Bravely*

The Society has ever recognized the value of its lady members. Many of them have been our most energetic, consistent workers, who have looked at the Society as the light of hope for the race. The Society will ever be in debt to Rosa B. LaFlesche, who resigned a fine position in Montana to accept a position, at a salary of one-third lower, as Corresponding Secretary of our Society. We then had eighteen paid members and only great faith on her part justified her sacrifice. Through her level-minded work, more, perhaps, than that of any of the other officers, the first conference in Columbus was a success. Mrs. LaFlesche went to Washington and opened up our first headquarters. For months she labored without receiving a cent in compensation. She did it to help others, and not herself. We have a society now that is stronger because of her

devotion. Her labors never ceased. A good-sized check comes every now and then as an evidence of her interest. Yet you find Mrs. LaFlesche a quiet worker who never mentions self.

We must remember Marie Baldwin and Emma Johnson Goulette. Both have served unselfishly, given much and labored without ceasing.

We have other earnest women and we are both proud and fortunate to have them with us. Splendid Indian women represented the race at Denver. Indian men have ever acknowledged that they needed the feminine mind to help guide them into higher and better ways. Yet some critics have complained of the Indian system of the division of labor. Equal rights bring equal duties.



*The New Land
of Promise*

When Christopher Columbus, on that memorable October morning four hundred and twenty-one years ago, saw a patch of green coast-line, he was filled with hope and his heart was gladdened. His first emotion must have been the very human feeling of exultation that his great endeavor had succeeded. Yet neither Columbus nor his unruly crew ever dreamed of the promise held out by their discovery. What it would bring forth, they had no means of knowing. They only knew they had won a victory. A vast expanse of water had been traversed and at length a new land found. Here was news for all the world. Yet for some time the world looked on tamely and with almost apathy. It took Europe almost twenty years to awaken to the meaning of a new world. And then dawned an era of greed and exploitation. America came to mean a land of gold, a paradise of jewels, and a garden of fountains of endless youth—all to be had for the taking. It was the dawn of a new madness for material wealth and of a new policy of appropriation. This reign of immoral frenzy for wealth, not earned, but appropriated; for power, not co-operative, but selfish, even yet holds sway over the minds of our countrymen.

Three years ago, in October, a band of red men, earnest-hearted and determined, set forth to traverse a sea of events that four hundred nineteen years of strife, contention, misunderstanding, bloodshed and hate had filled with strange terrors and treacherous shoals. This sea was salt with the tears of a race whose faces were stoical when they looked at the stranger, but which never ceased to weep

when the stranger saw not; it was bitter with the sorrows of vanquishment and defeat; it was red with the blood of millions of men, women and children. The billows on that stormy sea were high, for the tempest had but ceased its last savage fury.

Such was the sea crossed by the members of the first conference of the Society of American Indians, on October 12, 1911. They came to discover peace and healing, for they were of a new civilization, wherein the duties of a man to men were regarded as primary; and the rights of a man among men, secondary. They believed in service to others, in building up, in clearing away wrecks and debris, in understanding clearly and working thoroughly. *The might of a just cause* was the might they sought; they believed in the giving of self for others; not the demanding of others for self. They discovered the green shore of promise, but knew not of its fullness or the broad expanse before them. They only knew too well the bitterness of the sea and its redness.

America, white or red, has not fully appreciated the value of this pioneer work of three years ago. It can not even yet understand the high motives or lofty purposes of men and women who give much, not to get much, but that others may profit a million fold. It can not understand these givers who expect nothing in return, save a consciousness of having served well their fellow men. But the Indian must awaken to this new land of promise. The white American must remove the film that obscures his own vision, look forth, and then respond to the obligation that the vision gives. Hand and hand, both races must now walk in peace and brotherhood. Each must do their share of duty. The red man must take up his task of winning wealth by the labor of his hands, and by the efforts of an educated brain. He must cease to think that he can retain manhood by living on the revenue of things he did not produce himself by the toil of mind or muscle. He must become a producer, a maker of things, a worker even as other men in the world are workers. The white man must see that the red man is suffering from the result of a fatal misunderstanding and a false position. The white man must think of his red brother, as of himself, and in counting his broad acres, his gold, his timber, his oil, his coal, and water, he must consider how he came by it; and whether or not his superior power, education and civilization does not bring with it a tremendous obligation to employ it for the upbuilding of men not so blessed by wealth and power. He must consider, as he counts his good fortune, whether or not the mad-

dened rush for material things has not made his race forget and oftentimes trample on the rights and sentiments of the red man. He must consider by what methods this red man has been outstripped and weighted down. It is for the white American to clear the way, to provide the footing, the cure and the means by which the red man may rise, regain his health, and come into his own as a man among men. It is for the red man, then, to rise and to show himself as strong and as able as other men. *With power comes duty; with demanding must come giving. Each without the other is unjust and immoral.* This was the keynote of "the second voyage to Columbus"—the second conference at Ohio State University, October, 1912.

In exploring the new land of promise opened up by the Society of American Indians, this discovery came upon them: *For the Indian to constantly demand his rights without making equally constant efforts to do all that his present power enabled him to do, was a basically wrong course.* Then came the call to service. The Indian must take his place like other men as a worker and a thinker, otherwise the rights he demands will not be given, or if given will be wasted.

These thoughts, and others similar, were held in mind by the leaders of the Society, and with infinite pains they sought to sound the call to their race. It was not a soft call that betokened ease and fortune; it was a stern blast of a trumpet that sounded a note that meant effort, thought, sweat, sacrifice. So, many ears were deaf; eyes were blind; and there were scoffers and unbelievers.

Then came the third council together; it was a remarkable event. The shore line had been passed and some of the leaders upon the mountain peaks saw the vastness of this new land of promise. Read with care and understanding the platform of the Third Annual Conference of the Society and consider if it does not point out the cure of many evils and serve as a guide to better and greater things for the American Indian people and even to men of every race and color.

Now comes the struggle to hold that which we have gained so dearly. The high principles of our Society must not be forgotten. Forget them once and bow down to the images of the past, the golden calf of now, and there will be destruction. *We must hold our own by the power of the new moral order.* We must hold, we repeat, for there will be a savage onslaught of the warriors of the old moral order who put their trust in steel, in demanding all and

giving nothing, in forgetting others and serving self, for profit. We must hold fast and fight with the new light. It will show the old moral order its falseness, its vanity and its weakness. Let us live in our new land of promise and make it blossom with the fruit of our industry. Of which order shall our brother be? Perhaps you who have seen the light can lift up his heart to hope, pluck the clay from his ears, and point out the sun that rises over the hills of this new land of promise.

Last October, in closing his address before the Lake Mohonk Conference, Professor McKenzie used these words: "And then, when by joint effort we have really freed the Indian politically and mentally, Indian leaders will stand erect and say to their people, 'Let us arise and go over into the promised land. It is a goodly land for all those who will labor with us for the common good.'"



Can a man's actions please every other man?
Lo, the Poor Indian Agent *Can a man always suit the convenience of every man? Can a man's ideas always coincide with every other man's? "What foolish questions," you say, "why, of course not." Very well, then, "Of course not."*

Let us introduce you to a man with an unenviable job. "Mr. Indian Superintendent, meet my friend, Mr. Indian." You meet. I see you do not agree. Others do not agree. Some others say he is all right. Abuse is heaped upon his head; "he is a grafter, a thief, a fool, he is a tyrant, an autocrat, a conspirator." Verbal clubs fly, rocks and stones are hurled against his head. Long spiked poles are prodded in his hide—I said *hide*, for it is very thick—it must be or he would not be there. He may be a grafter and a conspirator for aught I know, or he may be very honest. I think I know some who are honest. Certainly every human being is not honest, every one does not have good judgment, but every human being is not dishonest. However, I do not defend him, neither do I want his job—do you? Joe Pete, our Kickapoo friend, said there are things he would not do "even for four banks full of money." This is one I wouldn't. Now, why does an Indian superintendent take such a position? Well, principally for four reasons. First, he may be a man who is desperately in need of "a job of some kind." He is palmed off on an Indian tribe either by a "transfer" in government service or by appointment from

civil life. Second, he may be a clever, designing rascal who takes the job with all its knocks, expecting to "get hunk" by making all the money he can in every way he can. "Shucks," he says, "they are only dirty redskins and ought to be trimmed." So he trims. Third, he may be an ignorant man, who believes the job an easy one, where he can sit around all day, have a house, a horse and a happy time. Poor fellow, how he wallows around in the mire! How queerly he tries to enforce law and order; how miserably he understands the men and women who depend for life and property, for hope and ambition upon his acts. Fourth, he may be an absolutely honest man, filled with a great determination to do good where others have failed. He may strictly obey the letter of the law, he may strive in every way he knows; but alas, he can not please every man! One set of Indians have confidence in his honor; another class may suspect his good judgment; another set of Indians may brand him as a grafter, because he does not do as they think is right. And so the agents go and come; and so Indians will praise or condemn, according to their situation, education, and disposition. Now, then, not *every* agent is a crook by any means; not *every* white man is a grafter, a thief, an ignoramus, a misguided zealot. Neither is *every* Indian just a red-skinned animal to be skinned for what his pelt will bring. Neither, my friends, is *every* Indian honest, broad-minded, intelligent, blessed by good judgment and well known for sincerity of purpose and good manners. Some Indians are bad; almost as bad, I am sorry to say, as some white men; and, alas, some are as crooked as *some* Indian agents that may be read about. Human nature is similar among all races—even the Indian race. We never argued every Indian fully capable of understanding the *Indian complex* just because he was an Indian. Far from it, we have only said the Indian was a man as other men when he had the chance to "crook" or to "make good"—just as his inclinations led him, and no better, no worse.

Now, then, let us talk a little more about this matter. An agent may wish to do right, but long-distance laws, rules of an office three thousand miles away, may tie his hands, prevent individual action, even when he would like to act. Rules and regulations may shut his eyes, his ears, his mouth. Laws confuse him, and no wonder—who can digest all those cobwebby laws? An Indian agent comes to the Indian done up in a fish net, simply because some agents are not safe without strings all around them. What they might like to do they cannot do—what they think is right the

Interior Department may not see fit to grant. The agent may be all right; the system under which he labors may be all wrong. Then the Indian — what of him and his cord-bound superintendent? The law has not said in clear cut phrases what this Indian's definite status is. Neither the agent nor the Indian knows where he stands or how he may progress. The Carter Code Bill has not yet passed in Congress, to give this relief. Endless bookkeeping keeps the superintendent's office constantly behind. Great books of rules, figures, tables, records, confuse the superintendent and at the same time give him a job. Leases, contracts, treaties, all give the Indian certain rights and claims. So money is doled out, nickel and dime, by payment after payment; and bookkeepers groan over a mass of paper, ink and columns of Arabic numerals — and get paid. You see the amended Stephens bill has not passed the houses of Congress to relieve this situation. Claims are not settled; they are muddled. Congress is petitioned to admit claims for settlement, and Congress, weary and sick of Indians, says the old claim is stale — throws it back at the Indian Bureau to look into; and so, year by year, the Indians rage for justice and delay present work in hope of future fortune.

Define the status of the Indian, give him a starting point wherein he may develop ambition, draw up a new law that has the sanity of system and you will make a great beginning, O Congress of the United States.

Throw open the Court of Claims to the Indian, who believes the country owes him funds, lands or rights. Let the *court* say whether his claim is just or not. Shall the nation deny the Indian the right to know the merits of his case? Shall it forever bar the doors of justice to the red man?

Appropriate to the individual Indian all funds due him, then give it all, as soon as is wise and just, to him and his family. Do not longer keep him an expectant pauper who once in so often receives his pittance. Give him the right to feel himself a man if you expect him to regain the regal manhood that was once his. Then let him know the joy of money earned by *effort*. Let him discover the growth that comes from independence. Let him see a great book-keeping establishment dwindle, let him see himself grow — and keep his own books.

Then, only then, will complaints against Indian agents cease. Until then there will be agents who "need" jobs, who are dishonest, who are ignorant, or who are earnest, hard-working, long-

suffering men, but who are slandered every day. We want justice not only for the Indian agent, but first of all for the Indian whom that agent serves. Lo, the poor Indian agent! Who shall lighten his burden, who shall make his name honorable, and who shall give him understanding and clear the way that he may work honestly, intelligently and to good purpose whether he wills it or not?



*The Antique
Board of Indian
Commissioners*

Every morning when the editor alights from the elevator that takes him to his office, he sees in a glass museum case the figure of a fish. It is not a real fish, and nothing like it lives now. It is a painted plaster restoration of the *Coccosteus dicipiens*, which lived during the Devonian period of geology. It is a fish with a particularly large head and a peculiarly long, whip-like tail. No doubt it used to lash the water with great fury. Once it was a very good fish, a splendid fish. Its head indicates a great capacity for brain; its whip-like tail is long. Nowadays we only know this *Coccosteus* as a fossil. Scientists with iron-rimmed spectacles and long whiskers dig up this fish, now and then, and find it cemented so tightly in the Devonian rock that it is a part of the rock. It no longer lives or moves. It is only a petrified placoderm — an ancient fossil.

Once upon a time, in the age of "Grant's Peace Policy," there was a Board of Indian Commissioners created. It had great capacity for thinking. It has a long tale and it has lashed the waters with fury. But, my friends, to-day it seems to be a fossil body. Long ago the environment for which it was created passed away. This is a new era. Practical men, who need no glasses, gaze upon this placodermal commission and wonder why it still is kept in the aquarium. What good is it; what does it do; what is there for it to do except to perpetuate its own memory? Shall it be placed on the shelf of some paleopolitical museum? Or, after all, is this creature "playing possum," and like the fabled toad, will it burst its marble walls, unseal its eyes and move? If it would only move a fin, draw in oxygen with its gills, we would apologize for our lack of appreciation! We wish to co-operate with things that move and move with definite purpose. We would then be glad to be "in the swim" with *C. dicipiens*, providing we surely knew that there was not a Jonah inside pulling strings to make the fins wriggle.

There is room for a living, active Board of Indian Commissioners, but it must grow its muscles on a different set of bones. Its form must not be that of the painted plaster placoderm, *Coccosteus*, that your editor sees every morning in a glass case when he enters his office.



***Mohonk
Conference
Now Awakens***

Your editor confesses that for a number of years previous to 1912, he held no high opinion of the results of the deliberations of the Lake Mohonk Conference. Great men who might have pushed great ideas seemed only to talk and talk, while gentlewomen knit and crocheted and embroidered or read Shakespeare, clicking their needles or rustling the leaves of their books, while the great men talked or tried to talk when they were permitted. It seems to your editor that by an organized onslaught, by letter, telegram, and by personal solicitation, that greater good might have been accomplished by men of so much wealth and resource. "Mohonk sympathy" and "long-distance tears," reform by the "absent treatment," were by-words that were whispered many times, perhaps unjustly, when no watchful ears could be offended. The members of the conference who knew actual conditions seemed to suffer from some subtle restraint. Other members seemed only theoretical in their philosophy. Some seemed to be "men of the far east" whose guiding star failed to give them light on the "far west."

To-day, there seems to have been a great change. The Lake Mohonk Conference seems alive to the true meaning of the Indian complex. There is less of the old restraint; there is a freer forum for discussion. Men who know, speak, and speak in no uncertain terms. We are now constrained to hail the Mohonk Conference as a great promise of reform, of better administration, and our hearts are glad. Strong men now are moved to action.

The 1913 platform rings true with facts. But like our own platform it will fail of accomplishment unless every member of the conference labors without let-up, battering at the doors of Congress to obtain the blessings for which they pray.

Professor W. K. Moorehead this year comes forth reviewing the Indian situation in emphatic language. P. J. Hurley, the tribal attorney of the Choctaws, explained the settlement of the Choctaw affairs; John B. Brown, who has ample opportunity to know whereof he speaks, discussed the educational conditions among the

Five Civilized Tribes. Dana H. Kelsey, superintendent of Union Agency, discussed the "Conditions Among the Five Civilized Tribes," pointing out wrongs and suggesting remedies. A further discussion on the legal status of the restricted and unrestricted classes was opened by Hon. Wm. H. Murray, member of Congress. Property rights were discussed by Hon. Gabe E. Parker. H. B. Peairs and Rev. W. R. Johnson discussed the Navajo situation. Our friend, Gen. R. H. Pratt, speaking on the last day of the conference, used in closing, his maxim, "To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization; to keep him civilized, let him stay."

In the matter of their platform there is little essential difference from our own. Two planks deal with propositions not discussed by our Denver conference. One recommended the consideration of the commission which shall be authorized to handle Indian affairs henceforth. The other is a detailed plan for adjudicating the affairs of the "Five Civilized Tribes." Several of our own Indian members were present at Mohonk, among them, Hon. Gabe E. Parker, Register of the Treasury, and Hon. Charles E. Dagenett, United States Supervisor of Indian Employment. Perhaps twenty-five of our associates were present.

The Society of American Indians holds out its hand to the Lake Mohonk Conference. We are a society of Indians and their friends; they are a conference of the friends of the Indian. We wish to co-operate with those friends, that the Indian may have his material rights conserved and that he may reach up through and beyond them to a higher manhood and a more useful place in American life. Let there now be a greater confidence, a greater friendship and more real work that counts for results.



*Our Friendly
Critics Take Issue
With Us*

Our friends do not always praise us. Friends often criticize, if they are sincere; but friends criticize with the idea of improving us—not to tear us down. The *Indian School Journal* of Chilocco has been friendly in giving news about us and opening up its pages for our assistance; but it finds fault with one of our resolutions. To quote it: "The Journal takes most emphatic issue on behalf of the able, conscientious people who for thirty-five years have been putting forth their best efforts into the building up of a rational effective school system." Then follows plank three of our platform de-

manding the reorganization of the Indian school system and the provision of a commissioner of education "of the broadest scholastic attainments" to whose "knowledge and sympathy should be joined the authority and power to improve and standardize the system in its every part." Then the *Journal* says (and we are inclined to think most unjustly), "This 'makes a noise' like some person helping write a resolution describing his ideas of his own qualifications!" This is an unfair statement, for there was not a single man at the Denver conference, college bred or otherwise, who wished to assume such a task. Last year we described the qualifications an Indian commissioner should have. There were many candidates for "commissioner" present, but not one saw the plank until it was read from the desk for discussion and adoption. The writer of that plank was not desirous of acting as an Indian commissioner, his business ability and experience were not great enough. Fully conscious of his limitations he was not ambitious to hold office. Neither was the man who drafted plank three looking for work. He has plenty of it. Our critic in his innuendo departs from the issue. Our Society is fully aware of the race's debt to those noble men and women who were and are devoted. We do say, however, that there can be improvement in more things than mere detail. We can not believe that the Indian school system as now constituted is perfect, notwithstanding the fact that the Indian schools have done much to bring inspiration and education to the Indian.

Perhaps our reasoning is wrong, despite our facts, but when the ordinary white American child finishes grammar school at the age of 13 and graduates from high school at 17 or 18, graduates from college at 22 or 24, and takes his post-graduate degree at from 25 to 30 years of age, we can see that there is something the matter with a system that graduates Indian students from an eighth-grade grammar course at ages ranging from 18 to 25, or even 30. Even ordinary stupidity or a late start should not drag on primary education. Plenty of Indian boys and girls who happen to be fortunate enough to get into public schools, prove themselves brainy enough to compete with white children of the same age. Where education means so tremendously much for the making of useful, happy men and women, the delay of years is a serious thing and seems to point to something "inadequate."

We take issue in support of plank three, not entirely in order that the "conscientious people who have built up that system" may see

the better development of their true aims, but more especially in behalf of the American Indian and his higher usefulness. Systems should always be subservient to human welfare. Our plea is not for systems first, but for men first—useful, good men. If the Indian school system of the present is the best way to produce such men, we are very wrong in our ideas. If the Indian school system is not the highest, efficient, truest way of making useful, happy men and women, we, then, are correct in the ideas expressed in plank three.



*The Report
of Conference
Proceedings*

A detailed report of the Third National Conference will be issued in the first number of Volume II of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL. This report will contain all the principal speeches of the two days of discussion, together with the debates on the floor of the conference. The Secretary's report will be given in full and an accounting made for all funds received and disbursed. This report of the Treasurer has already been gone over by two expert accountants, and corrected fully from the statement submitted by a bookkeeper employed by the Treasurer. The Society Auditor was satisfied with its correctness and a large bonding and guaranty company has indicated its satisfaction by renewing the bond protecting the Society from loss. Our friends may feel safe in contributing of their means to the Society.

The next number of the JOURNAL will contain a new membership list with corrections and additions.



*A Plain Statement
About the Quarterly
Journal*

The QUARTERLY JOURNAL is owned by the Society of American Indians. It is not published as a money-making scheme. Every copy you receive has been paid for by some member or by the Society. Do not be afraid to take it from the postoffice. The editors of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL receive no salary for working for it. The men and women who act as mailing clerks receive no pay for their work for us. We pay the government through the postoffice department the same rate of postage as any magazine does. The postage bill of the last issue was met entirely by one of our lady

members. We receive no help from the government. We carry no advertisements, because if we did, under the law, we could not send out so many copies to non-subscribers. We want to do all the good we can to as many people as we can. Our idea is not to make a lot of money, but at the same time we ought to be self-supporting. The Society depends for its support on the funds sent us by a few Indians and their friends. The membership dues do not even pay half the expenses of the Society. The paid subscriptions to the QUARTERLY JOURNAL do not pay for the yearly cost of publication. You can easily see that you ought to be a subscriber, if you are not already. Every cent will go toward helping other persons know about the needs of the race and its aspirations. We believe that this journal and the Society have demonstrated their worthiness of support.

Here is a personal question: Will you give us your hand in lifting the burden of a great and important work that has as its end the giving of new life to the American Indian? There is another question directed to the Indian race at large. It is: Do you not now feel that the time has come when you ought to support your own organization, your own publication, and show in this way your willingness to *deserve* independence and freedom, as well as to *demand* it? Or, do you think the government should continue to think for Indians, manage Indians, and do everything for them? Is it better for a school like Chilocco or Haskell or Phoenix to print papers about you and for you? Is there not room for a paper supported by you, yourself, and edited from start to finish by Indians, who do so "for the honor of the race and the good of the country?" Then, lastly, here is a question for white Americans: Knowing that the advanced members of the Indian race are calling upon their people to awaken to every good thing in American civilization, in order that the race may be made a more vital part of the greater nation, and that that greater nation may profit in its more efficient men, does it not seem worth while that you give us your hand in token of friendship and brotherly love? We have great things in common. The QUARTERLY JOURNAL aspires to be a link that will weld the interests of the two races, and give to each an understanding of the other. To be friends we must understand. There is neither sympathy nor friendship where there is no understanding. Perhaps you can assist in banishing the era of darkness by bringing oil to the light. Sign a subscription blank and send it in.

When Will Friends Get Together? In this battle for education, for justice, for competence, for self-support, for freedom for the Indian, there are several scattered armies. Each is devoted sincerely to the uplift and advancement of the Indian race. Each uses different tactics; each is useful and deserving of support. Let us number the organized forces of citizens that stand friendly to the red man.

First, there is the National Indian Association, with branches all over the United States. Most of its members are women. Their plan is to establish stations for religious and social work among Indians. They are not selfish. Once they have established a successful station or hospital they are ready and willing to turn it over to the religious body that will best carry out its plans. This association is one of the oldest and is the parent body of the Indian Rights Association.

The Indian Rights Association, with headquarters in Philadelphia, labors to protect the legal rights of the red man. They entirely concern themselves with his material interests, and for many years have stood before Congress as the champion of an oppressed race.

The Indian Industries League of Boston, under the presidency of Col. John Lockwood, believes in encouraging the Indian to productive industry. Colonel Lockwood and the League have done splendid work and Indians have profited by it.

The Society of American Indians, our own organization, is holding us to the proposition that life and advancement will come to the race by an internal awakening, through the efforts of its own blood, once vitalized by the absorption of lofty principles. It believes that the time has come for a unification of racial interests, that both races may profit.

We must mention the Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, and the Board of Indian Commissioners. Each has its own aims and its own policy.

Here are forces of men and mind that, united by one single bond of mutual interest, might labor to greater effect. The scattered armies ought now to concentrate their warfare—to federate in a national body. Each could retain its identity as an independent organization, but each with the other could unite in a heroic endeavor for the common cause. Ex-Commissioner Robert Valentine suggested such a plan at Mohonk last year. Who, beside him, has since thought of it?

There is a common remedy for much that we all seek. Let our organizations unite in pushing the Carter Code bill and the amended Stephens bill. This is a gigantic opportunity to demonstrate an actual interest. Let these bills be passed; and next year when perchance some great executive mind issues a call for a joint council of the federation of friends of the Indian, let us there discuss the new success and the long-sought remedy for the material ills of the red race in the United States.

There is room for only one national Indian association, only one Indian rights, only one industries league, only one society of Indians. Weakness would come to each by division and rivalry. This is especially true of the Indian society. Division means wasted effort, confusion and weakness. In union there is power.



*Render Honor
to Your
Country's Flag*

A friend and member of the Society, whose letter will be found in our "Open Forum," mentions an Indian who spit upon the flag, to show his expression of hatred against the white race and this country. We do not know who that Indian was. We do not especially desire to know. Certain it is that even those Indians who have suffered most do not lay the blame upon the high ideals of America or weakly revenge by taking material spite on the flag of our country. This Society upholds that flag as the emblem of all that is good. If citizens desecrate it or use it wrongfully, shame is upon them. Our conference halls are draped with many flags, our country's flags, for we would be of that country, a part of its vital energy, a people who support themselves and contribute of their fullness to its greatness. This Society was formed to bring these things about and our race will not be honored unless it stands fully for the good of the country.

Plenty of white men have spit upon the flag; they were poor misguided men who should be pitied. The Indian who did such a thing is no friend of his race, nor does he represent its heart. Thousands of Indians who fought for that flag resent its insult. Thousands who live under it, enjoying the liberty it gives, honor it and deplore that any member of their race should fail to do likewise.

The Editor's Viewpoint

The Real Tragedy of the Red Race

NATURE is a continual process of breaking down and building up, of living, growing and dying. All things in the process of birth or transformation, regeneration or radical change, are surrounded by that which is unclean, and out of that uncleanness they emerge into new life. The lily springs from the black mold of the forest, the orchid grows from the skull decaying in the ancient tomb, the butterfly is born from a chrysalis, but all are transformed from decay to life—if within them there is life. While they live, they do not return to that out of which they sprang. The lily leaves the decayed bulb behind and lifts its head above the blackened soil.

Mankind grew upward through beast cruelty, savagery, barbarism, and the misery of degradation and ignorance. The ancestors of kings were men who knew no morals, the ancestors of Rome were the thieves of Italy, who robbed the firesides of the Sabines and stole women that they might have offspring. Man has experimented with systems that we call polygamy, and there were polyandrous groups. The great fallen civilizations of antiquity were unclean in many respects, and no less a savant than Alfred Russell Wallace, the great scientist who developed the theory of evolution at the same time Darwin did, says in his latest book that modern society is in a state of moral decay. But it can not be the decay of death; it is the beginning of a greater transformation. In the Indian race, as in the white race, there is hope for greater enlightenment, better social systems, a better humanity. In every race this promise is inherent—if there is life in that race.

Civilization Dwells in the Ideals of Good Women No race can be better than its women. The morals of a race are the morals of its women.

The life in a race lies in the integrity of its mothers. If they are degraded, all hope must die—the race must die.

In civilization there are strong social distinctions between women of high ideals and those of low ideals. One is a blessing; the other a curse—a blasphemy before the Creator. There are, therefore, a thousand safeguards in civilization to protect the purity of its mothers, or its future mothers.

But civilization maintains for a native people whom it has surrounded, a reserved area where there is moral degradation. In

this civilized country are spots set aside for a people undergoing a cultural transformation. Places are chosen afar from the normal streams of social purity; there are only stagnant waters and the men and women there must live where there is pollution. They are placed there.

The moral atmosphere, the tone, the environment of an Indian reservation never can be good so long as it is a reservation. The sentimentalist may deny it, but he is blind to the facts of the present, for he only quotes the history of the past before the transformation commenced. The breaking down of the old social fabric of the Indian, a misconception of the new civilization, the contact with its evils, the loss of independence through loss of power to produce what is consumed, all bring demoralization, misery, filth.

*The Reservation
Is a Stagnant
Place* Enough knowledge has come to the Indian to show that the old way can not be held; there is not enough knowledge to understand fully that which the new way brings. Indeed it would take a superabundance of wisdom to live upon a reservation and not be injured in some way by its blighted morals.

The old Indians, in the old life, morally were far better men and women, as a rule, than the younger Indians of to-day, who live on reservations wherein are the decayed bodies of ancient idols. Neither education nor religious training will help purify a reservation unless the vast majority receive that training in an equal degree. The moral tone of a reservation can not improve until there is a social conscience awakened that keeps the clean from mingling with the unclean. There must be a class of men and women of unsullied character to whom those of low ideals must look. The attempts to purify a reservation are like the attempts to purify a stagnant pool by filling it with chemicals. White men or yellow men, or any other men, so confined, would degenerate and die in their own filth. Red men are expected to live and overcome and be equally "good" as men not so cursed. Men only live normally by mingling and competing, working and striving with those who are normally struggling to reach higher goals. It is through activity, in building up, in ceaseless struggle, that moral vitality comes. A reservation gives no such great opportunity, because it is reserved from such things. It is a place for dependents, a home for weaklings, an asylum from the responsibilities that other men enjoy as manhood-making elements.

*The Problems
of the
Returned Students* The government, the state, the churches educate young Indians and spend thousands to bring them into a knowledge and a high appreciation of morals and citizenship. Then these fine boys and girls are sent back where these ideals are lightly held. A boy has a chance; a girl not one in fifty. The fault is not entirely theirs if they fail. Strong lungs are not developed in a fetid atmosphere; character is soon weakened amid evils that are looked upon as a matter of course. Social pressure is strong; where good character is ridiculed it seems a small prize to keep so sacredly. The reservation, because it is but a chrysalis, contains the unclean things of decay, and the mantle of virtue is soon sullied. The fault lies with the sovereign nation that maintains reserved tracts for men and women. There is no fountain of life there. Its stagnant pools are afar from the currents of the streams of civilization. What though its waters are dashed in those pools, it does not give purity. The stream must flow in and flow out. Even the heart does not bottle up its blood. Those who succeed in living on a reservation, and who retain all that is good, are crushed in spirit at the evils they see. Only the minority so succeed, and it is a wonder that so many do. The young men have a chance to step from schools into the business life of the greater nation; they may live on as they have been taught and know that their fellow men, while competing with them, appreciate their good morals, their industry and success.

The young woman, fresh from school, in most cases must go back — and to what? She must re-enter the chrysalis. She must slip into the broken life of a people in the process of transformation. There is at once a moral loss, the rigid watch may cease, and if it does, there comes a time of heartache, of remorse, perhaps, and then, blunted sentiment that means moral indifference. This, then, is the tragedy. It is not one that is sought, it is not deserved. It is the result of complications over which the Indian has no real control, over which the nation, as it now administers Indian affairs, has no control. It is the result of a mistaken system united with human weakness and social pressure. It is the inheritance of a misunderstanding between two races, and the result of a conspiracy between the evils of both.

*Why Reservations
Are Maintained* There will always be reservations until the government provides for a settlement of all tribal affairs. The Indians, like all human beings, will not give up their land and treaty rights nor relinquish

their trust funds. They will not enter into the life of the nation as long as these claims are theirs. If all claims were paid, if each Indian's status was fixed, if tribal funds were broken up, there could be a beginning for individual effort. There would no longer be an excuse for a reservation. The Indians would enter into the social fabric of the nation. Nothing, then, except their own desires would hold them back. But until all the material rights of the Indians are given them, it is folly to expect a complete absorption of civilization. General Pratt is right when he says, "To civilize the Indian, put him in civilization; to keep him civilized, keep him there." This is just as true of the white man as of the Indian—but you can't keep an Indian in civilization as long as he has land and gold buried in his reservation. Even a white man would go back to enjoy his land and dig his gold.

If there is to be future hope for the Indian, the reservation must go; for as long as there is a reservation, the Indian will not go from the reservation, for his home is there. With his money tied up there, he can not have a home elsewhere, except in rare cases. We plead for the vast majority.

The old civilization of the Indian has gone; he can not hold to it and live; he can not live it and protect his own interests. It does not prepare him for an efficient life; the ghosts of its dead past but make him a dreamer who reclines against a decayed body.

*An Appeal
to Save Future
Generations* This editorial is not a criticism of the Indian; it is his defence. It is a criticism of the environment in which he is compelled by circumstance to live. He did not make the circumstances. Give the Indian a normal American environment, if you wish him to be a normal American. The reservation is not a normal environment for any man. It breeds almost every social evil that can exist. These evils lurk there to attack the youth who come white robed from the government schools like Haskell, or private schools like Hampton.

This is an appeal to save the blood of a race for the sake of the race. It is an appeal to America to save that blood so soon to be transfused into the veins of America of to-morrow. In saving the red man America saves itself; in giving the red man justice, America honors her own high altars. More than her high altars are her cradles. Our appeal is for generations, yet unborn, for the children of to-morrow, who will be the makers of the nation of the future. What will you have those children be?

*The Situation
as it is
Reviewed*

The situation as we find it, then, is this:

1. The Indian once lived in a state of society which was more or less suited to his needs in his original environment. His original environment has gone forever. His original social organization has been corrupted and demoralized through its contact with civilized organization. He can not be competent in his contact with civilization while he holds on to things in his own culture that are inconsistent with it. Each pulls him toward itself until he is torn apart, and left a wreck.

2. Reservations are graveyards of departed things. Their moral atmosphere is unhealthy, because they are not compatible with normal American community life or ideals. The average Indian must live on the reservation because his people, his home, his social setting, his memories are there. He will not break away from it as long as he has interest in its property and a share in its tribal fund. Every man wants what is coming to him and will suffer to hold his right to it. The Indian will "go back" to the reservation while his parents live there and while he has friends and relatives there. A man of any race would do the same.

3. The reservation was devised as a seed-bed for growing a new race out of an old one. Yet the transplanted seedling is returned as a tree, to sink in the mire. But men are not wood, Indians are not wooden. The graduated student, because he is flesh and blood, will return to his native soil. The nation preaches the doctrine of the new birth of the Indian and yet we have not provided a normal human world in which he may live. The Indian, seeking regeneration, thus asks the two questions of Nicodemus.

4. The Indian normally is not better than any other man; he is not any worse than any other man, racially. He is largely what his environment makes him. Reservation environment is not conducive of making him standard in morals, health or industry. If you condemn an Indian for moral laxness, disease or laziness, you are wrongly condemning him. Condemn his surroundings. He did not make them. When he did make his own environment it was far better, for he sought to master all conditions himself.

5. The blood of the red man will not die out. His blood with all that has been put into it will enter the arteries of the greater race. He will be absorbed. America has an obligation to herself in preserving the physical and psychic purity of this blood, for it will pulse in the veins of her future children, her future citizens. All things that are injurious or contribute to injury must be eliminated.

All things that contribute to make that blood virile, clean, efficient, must be provided.

The reservation, with its diseased atmosphere, must speedily go; normal American citizenship, with its responsibilities, must come.

In order that this higher justice may come, the material interests of the Indian must be settled in accord with natural rights, treaty rights and tribal contracts. Then, there will be no excuse for the Indian or the government for holding back, or for an emasculating, enervating environment, or a pauperizing system of control.

With a knowledge of his status, a draft of a new code, as provided in the Carter code bill; with the passage of the amended Stephens bill, admitting tribal claims to the Court of Claims, the division and ultimate distribution of tribal funds to individual claimants, the end will be in sight — providing adequate education has not been neglected.

Then must come the Indian's own struggle for efficiency, for moral regeneration for himself, for his country, and for the honor and welfare of both.



The Society and the Problem

The problem which the Society is attempting to solve is one that vitally concerns the red race; and that vitally affects the white race. Our labors involve:

More than a billion dollars of Indian property;

More than seventy-one million acres of land remaining to the Indian;

Six hundred eighty-seven million dollars in trust funds;

Ten million dollars in taxes paid by citizens to support the Indian Bureau;

Then millions of dollars used by the Interior Department and by the various missionary bodies for the welfare of Indians;

The health and usefulness of 300,000 Indians;

The fulfillment of all treaties and contracts with the Indians;

The bringing of hope and ambition to the hearts of thousands;

The salvation of the American Indian, industrially, socially and morally;

The provision of just laws, like the Carter Code Bill and the Amended Stephens Bill, through which the Indian may be freed from unjust conditions and reach out by his own strength as a man and an American.



THE **LOST LAND HOME MAY BECOME A LAND OF PROMISE**
This picture shows the Pottawatomie and Kickapoo delegates viewing the foothills of the Rocky Mountains during the Third Conference excursion.



An Appeal to the Nation

Prepared by the Legal Aid Committee¹

A Great Injustice

ANY American Indians believe that they have large claims against the government of the United States, and at the same time they have no opportunity to test their claims, except by appeal to Congress, which body has neither the time nor machinery adequate to handle promptly such a mass of legal material. The anomalous status or lack of status of the Indians in the courts of the country complicates the situation. Thus it happens that, year after year, decade after decade, the tribes wait for the relief that comes not. Bitterness is piled upon bitterness. The student of Indian affairs, the leaders in Indian administration and the informed statesmen in Congress have for many years cried out for some efficient remedy for this distressing, even disastrous, situation. One by one they have wearied in their efforts and almost abandoned hope. But the Society of American Indians believes that the failures of the past have been based on the lack of general and widespread information either in Congress or out. It therefore issues this pamphlet and calls upon every friend of justice to rally to the standard. The Society believes that Congress will respond to the intelligent opinion of the country and will refuse to quibble over petty methods of detail just so soon as the great principle at stake has been made clear to the nation. Surely a great nation of one hundred million people can afford to do justice to the remnant of that race which once ruled our domain from shore to shore. Surely such a nation can trust the settlement of claims against itself to its own high courts.

No nation can afford to withhold justice; no nation can afford to delay justice in its relations with any people. How, then, can this nation, the self-constituted guardian of the Indian race, refuse aught of justice to its wards? While the nation delays, the Indian suffers, oftentimes in estate, always in mind. The rankling sense of injustice is a bar to progress. Worse than poverty is a vain hope for property. Until the matter is settled the Indian will wait, will stand still. That generally means he will sink down hill.

¹This appeal may be had in pamphlet form and in quantities to all who will take the pains to distribute them.

The government likewise is burdened. The Indian's persistent endeavor to secure relief, however vain, is a constant and permanent embarrassment to the government. Moreover, the government's best endeavors to secure Indian welfare are largely negatived by the refusal of the embittered individual or group to co-operate. Everybody agrees that some remedy should be found. The only question is as to the possibility of an agreement upon some means of relief. Is there any remedy?

The Remedy

Not all the legal tangles in Indian property affairs can be straightened out in a single year, but the discussion of the years past has made fairly clear what the initial step should be. All the property claims against the United States government, whether they should prove to amount to fifty or even one hundred in number, should be given a prompt hearing and a final disposition. With them out of the way another remedy or method will be at hand for the solution of the next large group of legal problems.

The remedy is a simple one. *Open the United States Court of Claims to Indian tribes and groups.* There are, of course, many possible dangers involved in such a plan. Unless the measure adopted by Congress is carefully safeguarded, it will prove a source of new evils. The just settlement of the claims must be made as nearly certain as possible. The procedure should be made as inexpensive as possible for the Indian litigants. Exorbitant attorneys' fees should not be tolerated. No private fortune should come out of either Indian or government hands to attorneys concerned in the case.

Great care has been taken to secure an ideal bill. After careful consideration and upon expert advice as to what the provisions of such a bill should be, it was found that Mr. Stephens, of Texas, had, on February 3rd, 1912, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives, which met the ideal requirements to a remarkable degree. The Legal Aid Committee has deemed it wise to suggest changes in only three points, and the changes consist in mere additions calculated to safeguard the interests of both parties involved in any claim and to facilitate the early and complete execution of the decisions of the Court of Claims; and in the omission as indicated by stars in section 2, of a few words, which omission it is believed will not affect the intent of the law but will remove a possible ambiguity in its wording. A just settlement, a prompt settlement, and a final settlement are the objects in mind.

Provisions of the Bill

The bill itself is herein given. It differs, as has already been stated, from the Stephens bill in the addition of certain sentences which are printed in italics. In brief, the measures proposed will open the United States Court of Claims to suits against the United States by Indian tribes, nations and bands. Such suits or claims based on facts, happening prior to the passage of the act, however, must be filed within five years after the passage of the act or be forever thereafter barred. The tribes or bands may file their petitions through attorneys, but the contracts between the Indians and any attorney must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in office at the time of the filing of the suit, before the attorney shall be permitted to represent the Indians in the Court of Claims.

The awards made by the court are to be paid out of any unappropriated funds in the hands of the Treasurer of the United States. The fees of the attorneys are to be such as the court shall fix as reasonable, but not to exceed the amount stipulated in the approved contract, and are to be met out of any sum or sums recovered in the suit and from no other source, unless so provided in the approved contract. The rights of the Indians are not to be withheld by reason of the usual statutes of limitation, since the Indians have not previously been competent to bring their claims before the court, and all treaties, papers, correspondence and records of the United States are made accessible to the attorneys. If not satisfied, either party may appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The bill opens the door for a thorough and honest determination of the matters at issue between the government and its wards.

*The Bill*

Authorizing any nation, tribe, or band of Indians to submit claims against the United States to the Court of Claims with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all claims of whatsoever nature which any nation, tribe, or band of Indians may have against the United States, which have not heretofore been determined by the Court of Claims, may be submitted to the Court of Claims, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the

United States by either party, for the determination of the amount, if any, due either or any of said nations, tribes, or bands from the United States under any treaties, agreements or laws of Congress or for the misappropriation of any of the funds of either or any of the said nations, tribes or bands, or for the failure of the United States to pay either or any of the said nations, tribes, or bands any money or other property due; and jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon the Court of Claims, with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, to hear and determine all legal and equitable claims, if any, of said nations, tribes, or bands, or any of them, against the United States, and to enter judgment thereon. Provided, That all claims based on fact, happening before the passage of this Act shall be forever barred unless suit is brought thereon within five years after the passage of this Act.

Sec. 2. That if any claim or claims be submitted to said courts they shall settle the rights therein, both legal and equitable, of each and all the parties thereto, notwithstanding lapse of time or statutes of limitation, and any payment which may have been made upon any claim so submitted may be pleaded as an offset in such suits or actions. * * * The claim or claims of each nation, tribe, or band may be presented separately or jointly by petition, subject, however, to amendment; and such action shall make the petitioner or petitioners party plaintiff or plaintiffs and the United States party defendant and any nation, tribe, or band, the court may deem necessary to a final determination of such suit or suits may be joined therein as the court may order. Such petition shall set forth all the facts on which the claims for recovery are based, and the said petition may be signed by the attorney for the petitioning nation, tribe, or band, and shall be verified by him after examination of the records pertaining to the claim or claims, and no other verification shall be necessary. Official letters, papers, documents, and public records, or certified copies thereof, may be used in evidence, and the departments of the government shall give access to the attorney or attorneys of the said nations, tribes, or bands of Indians to such treaties, papers, correspondence, and the records as may be needed by the attorney or attorneys for said nations, tribes, or bands of Indians.

Sec. 3. *That upon the final determination of such suit, cause or action in favor of the nation, tribe, or band, the Court of Claims shall decree that the Secretary of the Treasury shall place to the credit of the said nation, tribe, or band the amount found due the nation, tribe or band.*

Sec. 4. That upon the final determination of such suit, cause or action, the Court of Claims shall decree such fees as it shall find reasonable to be paid the attorney or attorneys employed therein by each of said nations, tribes, or bands of Indians, under contracts negotiated and approved, as provided by existing law, and in no case shall the fee decreed by said Court of Claims be in excess of

the amounts stipulated in the contracts approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs *holding office at the date of filing the claim* and the Secretary of the Interior, and no attorney shall have a right to represent or shall represent any nation, tribe, or band of Indians in any suit, cause, or action under the provisions of this Act until his contract shall have been approved as herein provided. The fees decreed by the court to the attorney or attorneys of record shall be paid out of any sum or sums recovered in such suits or actions, and no part of such fee shall be taken from any money in the Treasury of the United States belonging to such nations, tribes, or bands of Indians in whose behalf the suit is brought, unless specifically authorized in the contract approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior as herein provided.



The Great Justice

The bill is designed simply as a tool of justice, framed by unselfish men, to promote the ends of justice. Why, in a nation founded on the principles of equality, should justice be so far removed from the Indian? In former days, when the tribes were strong in number, the Indian did not hesitate to go to war openly with any whom he thought deprived him of his rights. But now, weakened in numbers and subdued by the white man's law, he perforce must wait upon the slow machinery of legislation and postponed judicial decisions, cursed, oftentimes, by "his dream of getting twenty-five cents out of some stale claim, instead of earning twenty-five dollars by devoting the same time to work."

Under existing law, it is necessary for the band or tribe aggrieved to petition Congress with a series of memorials setting forth the cause of the desired action. Then, with the lobbying which is secured always at the expense of time, if not money, an attempt is made to have special legislation enacted, providing either that the claim be paid or that certain courts be opened for the trial of that particular case. Each time special legislation is necessary. It is seldom granted, yet, on the occasion of each petition, not only the time of the Indians and their agents is consumed, but the time and attention of Congress is exacted.

Briefly, the bill provides that that which is judicial in Indian affairs shall be at the disposal of that department of the government to which all other judicial questions are referred, namely, to the courts of the nation, and not to the two houses of Congress,

whose functions are purely legislative. By the simple process of petition the case is to go to the Court of Claims. Should it be decided against the United States there, the Attorney-General may appeal to the Supreme Court.

The statute of limitation clause, providing that all claims based on facts happening prior to the passage of the act shall be barred forever unless suit is brought within five years of the date of the passage of the bill, will do much in accomplishing a speedy removal of the bones of contention. "For the Indian's own good, we ought to have, if necessary, a riot of litigation, and then close up everything tight, just as we do with our statutes of limitations in ordinary concerns." The nation will have given its wards at least an opportunity, and plenty of time, to put their claims to an acid test in the proper crucible.

Section 3 was inserted in order to simplify procedure when suits terminated in favor of the Indian. With no provision for a direct decree, with no order upon the Secretary of the Treasury to place to the credit of the Indians concerned the amount found due, it is necessary that special legislation be enacted by Congress, appropriating the sum necessary to satisfy the decree, and the nefarious practice of lobbying is again resorted to. More time, more money is lost. The Indian waits and suffers. And we are informed by those in position to know, "that there is much more trouble and fraud to be apprehended from lobbying to pay the judgment of the court, than from all of the chicanery attending the prosecution of the suit." The inserted provision thus removes the elements of both time and temptation.

Since the Indian has always been more or less of a prey to scheming, selfish individuals, it is deemed best that his contracts with his attorneys be approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior. Here, in another respect, the original Stephens bill was elaborated upon, and the words in italics in Section 4 were inserted. Approval by the Commissioner "holding office at the date of filing the claim" would prevent the practice of "adventurers who are deluding Indians into giving them contracts, or who are making sub-contracts with legitimate attorneys for certain kinds of assistance, from coming into the Indian Office and lording it over the Commissioner, playing havoc with the order and system of his records, simply because some past administration has been led into giving them approvals." The amendment furnishes an adequate bar against those attorneys

who in the judgment of the Commissioner are either incompetent or dishonest. Protection of the highest order is due from any guardian to his ward.

This is no new suggestion. Hon. Francis E. Leupp, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his book, "The Indian and His Problem," suggested legislation quite similar to the Stephens bill, using these words: "For the abatement of these evils, I recommended the creation of a special court, or the addition of a branch to the United States Court of Claims, to be charged with the adjudication of Indian claims exclusively. * * * Notice was to be served on every Indian tribe to prepare to file every claim, big or little, clear or shadowy, which it believed it had against the government, with a warning that no claim filed later than three years after a certain date would be considered by the court. Such an arrangement would clear the atmosphere, while working no substantial injustice to any one. For valid claims, it would allow time enough; on those which were so vague that they could not be wrought into shape for filing within the period stated, it would have the same effect as a statute of limitations on ordinary business litigation. That resort must eventually be had to something of the sort, is my firm belief, unless Congress is willing to leave open indefinitely a fertile mine of scandals and other unpleasantness."

Senator Moses E. Clapp, of Minnesota, in commenting upon Indian claim legislation, writes: "It is a most inconsistent, incongruous and unjust situation. Many of these claims Congress has refused to recognize, and then, after putting them off year after year, discredits them as 'stale' claims, when Congress itself is to blame for their becoming 'stale.'"

What does the reader think of this arraignment from the Senate of the United States, so strongly supported by a former head of the Indian Bureau? Will the American citizens continue to be passive while these claims are buffeted about thus indefinitely? Or will not those who have the power change the conditions and that right soon?

The Society of American Indians makes its appeal to the American people. We realize that Congress will heed the call of the nation. We believe that Congress desires to deal justly, but Congress has many things to do. You, O Reader, can carry the truth to your own Representatives and Senators. We appeal to you—to you who have power over us and power with Congress. We have no other source of help. Our welfare, our fate, lies in your hands.

In our behalf, you may considerably take the time to address your Representatives and Senators, that they may know that their constituents are behind them in fostering such legislation. Or, by the disregard of this opportunity of genuine service, you may, by your silence, remove farther and farther the ray of remaining hope. We await your verdict.

Our appeal is not for favor, but for simple justice, your own justice, the justice of your own courts. A proud people will ask no more; a worthy nation will grant no less.

The Indian Reservation System

By CARLOS MONTEZUMA, M. D. (Apache)

THE very name "Reservation" contradicts the purpose for which it was instituted. Reservation is from *reserve*. Reserve in this connection is to set apart, and to set apart means to separate from; and to separate from means to deprive the separated from all relations to that from which it is to be kept. Therefore, the purpose being to civilize the Indians, the way to do it is to keep him disconnected from civilization. And this is what the reservation, even if not so designed, has been so highly successful in accomplishing.

In one respect, we have always been and are ready to give credit where credit is due, and we must therefore acknowledge that the thing which the reservation, though not so designed, was yet certain to accomplish, has been thoroughly wrought out.

The Indian has most certainly been reserved, and is still reserved. He is still to be civilized, because he has been reserved from civilization. And after all these years we are thankful at least that those who are and have been most interested (for personal reasons), in this reservation of the Indian, have come to see, to some extent, what a contradiction the whole system is in itself. That they now see, is not so strange, as the fact that they have been so long in getting their eyes opened.

As we have said before, the reservation, in its very name, and the system necessarily embraced in the meaning of the word, carried with it, at the day of its adoption, its own prognosis of the fate of the Indian who should be so unfortunate as to be included within its limits. There are a few—not all belonging to the Indian race, either—who have for years known that the outlook for the Indian was "dark," indeed, and these few had this foresight simply because, knowing the seed, they knew what fruit would spring therefrom. In other words, it is the old, old story over again. No figs from thorns, nor wheat from tares. You reap what you sow, and can expect nothing else.

The reservation system has been a monument to the want of knowledge of human nature on the part of those who have been instrumental in perpetuating it. The failure to recognize the

brotherhood of man in the Indian, that he was a multiple being, however ignorant he might be, and not more unified in his natural endowments and faculties than other men subject to similar conditions and environments, has been his greatest handicap. And it has been, and it is, this reverse idea of the Indian that has given rise to so much impracticable specializing on the subject of the American Indian's relation to the rest of the people.

In this respect the supporters of the Reservation System and the Bureau behind it, have been traveling in one direction, while they started the Indian at an angle of about ninety degrees along another road. And now, after so many years, they wonder why they are so far apart.

In conclusion, we will add that whether the Indian reservation system is inherently wrong, in principle, is no longer an open question, but, that it is so, is an established fact; and its practical workings, therefore, necessarily a failure in respect of what ought to be accomplished toward bringing the Indians into civilized life.



Equip Yourself in Human Science

If the Indian problem is a human problem then those in authority over Indians should understand human science. The superintendent, the agent, the school principal, the teacher who deals with the Indian should be thoroughly grounded in the principles of social science, psychology, civics and economics. We wonder how many Indian agency or school superintendents and teachers read the current books and periodicals on these subjects. We wonder how many are members of such societies as the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association or the American Anthropological Association, or even the standard Education associations? The government should give encouragement to those who do by increasing their salaries. This would prove an incentive to others to learn something about the material they are attempting to handle. Equipment and training to handle the education of children or to exercise authority over men is not perfected in a diploma or a commission. The wise and the successful teacher and leader is a constant student. Ordinary common sense is not enough. One may be surprised to find how much others know that is valuable, and to learn that one's unaided "common sense" is very "common" indeed in its quality.

*The Indian Culture of the Future*¹

By OLIVER LAMERE (Winnebago)

SINCE the history of the world began, every small nation that has found itself surrounded and in the process of being swallowed up by a larger nation, has been brought face to face with the following question: "Shall we permit ourselves to be entirely absorbed, admitting in this manner, that we have nothing worth while preserving, or shall we insist upon bringing to the larger culture, of which we will in the future form a portion, all that was good and noble and beautiful in our own distinctive life, but which changing conditions no longer permit us to live?" There is still one other possibility, one that may appeal to the romantic, but which is wholly unpracticable, unnecessary, *to die with our colors flying*, to hold on to everything in our old life, the bad for the sake of the good, the ugly for the sake of the beautiful. If, indeed, absorption into the culture of America were to mean the complete disappearance of what is worth preserving in our own old Indian culture, if it were to mean absorption into the objectionable side of American culture, I would prefer to stand with the romantic elders of our race and die. But it does not mean that, and the fact that the Society of American Indians could be organized is the best proof that it does not mean that.

We are committed to the idea of absorption, or better, *union with the civic life of America*. We cannot argue, we cannot debate that question; it is inevitable. What we are to take from America is likewise clear. It is her practical sense, her energy, the courage with which she faces the problems of life and conquers them, considering no work too low or beneath her. That lesson we, too, must learn.

Then, too, America has much to teach us in the ethical ideals she has taught, even though she has failed lamentably far from practicing them; and I sincerely hope that we may in time adopt these ideals and live up to them in a manner different from what we are accustomed to observe among its standard-bearers to-day. This is all that America can give us; but in so far

¹A paper read at the Denver Conference, October 17, 1913.

as she can bring us in contact with the arts and culture of Europe, she can teach us more, much more.

Before discussing what we can give to America, let me say a few words about what elements in our own culture we must give up. Certain things like the "open life" conditions compel us to give up; other things like the part warriors and warfare and superstitious rites played in our life we should be glad to give up. What can we give? Everything in the life of the past that has fired us with true ideals; everything that we feel is true and right, whether it is so considered by the Americans or not. We cannot afford to let our absorption with American life change or alter or dilute these things in any way; and if necessary we must fight for them.

So far we have been speaking only of the general questions involved in our assimilation. We must next discuss what means should be adopted by us here present, and by the individual tribes at home, to keep before the young those elements of Indian life which we wish to incorporate into the future American civilization. How this is to be done is a matter that must be worked out carefully and in detail, and I cannot now offer any suggestions; but I wish to emphasize the fact that this must be done, be done now and be done energetically. In twenty years it may be too late, and our younger generation will have grown up completely demoralized, having neither absorbed the worthy features of American life nor preserved those of their ancestors.

But now what are the features of Indian life that we wish to preserve, that we wish to incorporate into our future culture? They are a love of nature and an acquaintance with nature which few whites know; ethical and moral teachings fully as high as those of Christianity, and in fact coinciding with them, but which we can more effectually teach, not as borrowed Christian, but as old Indian, ideals; and, lastly, but not least, Indian art, whether in the form of decoration, sculpture or wood carving, or whether in that of music and literature. We have all these splendid things and they must not be lost.

In conclusion, let me say a few words more. When I said that absorption is inevitable, I did not mean that American elements and Indian elements will have to become so mixed up and intertwined that it will be impossible to separate one from the other. This will unquestionably be the fate of some. But

there are other elements that possibly cannot unite with the American culture of to-day or will be in the future; and these we must try to keep side by side with American characteristics, and not swallowed up by them to form a watery mixture. That this is possible I have no doubt. For as men become more and more enlightened and as nations grow larger and larger, and more and more complex, it will be recognized that there can be a union of parts and still a separate individual existence of these parts, and that although they form one distinctive culture, still the parts composing it may likewise retain their distinctive life and ideals.



The Great Advertising Hoax Has Flagged Civilization

The "Wanamaker Expedition of Citizenship to the Indian" has returned to its Philadelphia store. The plan was for a certain Mr. Dixon to give a flag to every reservation in the country, and pledge the Indians to loyalty. This was an assumption that the Indians were not loyal. Newspapers said that the Indians had never seen a flag. This is an absurdity and the whole expedition was a flagrant insult to the United States authorities and an insult to the Indian, all for the benefit of Wanamaker advertising. We suppose now that the Tobacco Trust will start "The Dukes Mixture Expedition of Christianity to the Indian," and present a Bible to every tribe on the assumption that missionaries and educators have not done their duty or that Indians are not Christians. We venture to say that Major McLaughlin is disgusted with the job the Government gave him of being Dixon's lackey. We venture that Mr. Dixon does not love the Indian more despite his protests of affection. He is a pretty good fakir. A short time ago he called the Crow Indians together and photographed "The Last Grand Council of the American Indian." A Crow Council convened by Dixon is hardly the last council of Indians. The Crows are not the only Indians, even though they are good ones. But the late Mr. Barnum's maxim will hold good.

Lo, the poor Indian; Lo, the deceived government, but all hail the "Prince of Advertisers!"

Impressions About Indians

By THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in "The Outlook"¹

ANY well-informed and well-meaning men are apt to protest against the effort to keep and develop what is best in the Indian's own historic life as incompatible with making him an American citizen, and speak of those of opposite views as wishing to preserve the Indian only as national bric-a-brac. This is not so. We believe in fitting him for citizenship as rapidly as possible. But where he can not be pushed ahead rapidly we believe in making progress slowly, and in all cases where it is possible we hope to keep for him and for us what was best in his old culture. As eminently practical men as Mr. Frissell, the head of Hampton Institute (an education model for white, red, and black men alike), and Mr. Valentine, the late Commissioner of Indian Affairs, have agreed with Miss Curtis in drawing up a scheme for the payment from private sources of a number of high-grade, specially fitted educational experts, whose duty it should be to correlate all the agencies, public and private, that are working for Indian education, and also to make this education, not a mechanical impress from without, but a drawing out of the qualities that are within. The Indians themselves must be used in such education; many of their old men can speak as sincerely, as fervently, and as eloquently of duty as any white teacher, and these old men are the very teachers best fitted to perpetuate the Indian poetry and music. The effort should be to develop the existing art — whether in silver-making, pottery-making, blanket and basket weaving, or lace knitting — and not to replace it by servile and mechanical copying. This is only to apply to the Indian a principle which ought to be recognized among all our people. A great art must be living, must spring from the soul of the people; if it represents merely a copying, an imitation, and if it is confined to a small caste, it can not be great.

Of course, all Indians should not be forced into the same mold. Some can be made farmers, others mechanics; yet others have the soul of the artist. Let us try to give each his chance to develop what is best in him. Moreover, let us be wary of interfering over-

¹Issue of October 18, 1913.

much with either his work or his play. It is mere tyranny, for instance, to stop all Indian dances. Some, which are obscene, or which are dangerous on other grounds, must be prohibited. Others should be permitted, and many of them encouraged. Nothing that tells for the joy of life, in any community, should be lightly touched.

A few Indians may be able to turn themselves into ordinary citizens in a dozen years. Give these exceptional Indians every chance; but remember that the majority must change gradually, and that it will take generations to make the change complete. Help them to make it in such a fashion that when the change is accomplished we shall find that the original and valuable elements in the Indian culture have been retained, so that the new citizens come with full hands into the great field of American life, and contribute to that life something of marked value to all of us, something which it would be a misfortune to all of us to have destroyed.



What Indians Read

As I journey over the reservations and stay in Indian homes I often see a single magazine on the "parlor" table. There is no "great American weekly," no standard magazine in most of these homes. However, I do see an Indian school paper like the Haskell *Leader*, the Chilocco *School Journal*, the Carlisle *Arrow* or the *Word Carrier*. The lack of literature causes the Indian who can read to study these school papers from cover to cover. They are most useful, valuable papers and carry to the distant hut and tepee a message of civilization. More than any other factor at home, unless it is the missionary's sermon, the school paper holds up a high standard and calls upon the home staying Indian to reach it. The school journal has a mighty mission that few appreciate.

Our own QUARTERLY JOURNAL thus enters a field already broken and it is read with great care by the Indians. You will find little groups of men among the Crows, the Pottawatomies or Kiowas studying these pages and seeking in them freedom, justice and a path to a higher life.

And so, wherever you go on the reservations you will find a thinking Indian when you see one reading the QUARTERLY JOURNAL. Right thinking is a mighty creative power.

Not an Indian Problem but a Problem of Race Separation¹

By DENNISON WHEELOCK (Oneida)

ON EVERY Indian reservation in the United States, there is an Indian agent, sometimes officially designated as "Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent." These agents, reporting through the Indian Bureau at Washington, are the eyes, ears and fingers, but not the brain, of the Secretary of the Interior. An agent on an Indian reservation is charged with the care and control of every Indian residing on his particular reservation; if an Indian desires to sell his land, the agent secures a buyer and arranges the sale for him; if an Indian wants to buy a cow, the agent finds the cow and arranges for its purchase; if an Indian determines on farming his allotment, the agent furnishes the implements, the seed and the instruction for him; if he wants to send his children to school, the agent arranges for their transportation and physical examination, and for the maintenance, care, discipline, clothing, board, lodging and general comfort of such children while at school. The office of the agent is the probate court for the settlement and distribution of the estates of deceased Indians. He is the policeman and judge of the criminal court. He is responsible for all the property belonging to the government; for the efficiency and competency of all the employees under him; for the education and civilization of the thousands of Indians under his charge and for the wise and economical expenditure of funds appropriated by the government for use on his reservation.

This Indian agent is, however, without authority of doing a solitary thing on his reservation without the approval and authorization of the Secretary of the Interior. He is bound hand and foot by regulations of the Department, so that in no material matter can he exercise the slightest discretion of his own. Every item of expenditure must be under authority first had and received. He cannot sell an acre of land without first securing authority from the Department to do so; he cannot issue one grain of seed to an Indian without first obtaining authority from the Secretary of the Interior to do so. He cannot direct the performance of any duty by an employee under him without specific authorization from the Secre-

¹A paper read at the Third Annual Conference.

tary of the Interior. This agent, in fact, is thus nothing more than eyes, ears and fingers of the Secretary of the Interior. What the agent hears, what he sees and what his fingers do, are all required to be reported to the Secretary of the Interior, to enable that official to exercise the brain which is lodged by law, in so far as Indian Affairs are concerned, in the Secretary of the Interior.

It happens very often, therefore, that the Secretary of the Interior has substantially a well developed brain, capable of mastering and making the solution of the Indian problem possible, yet has very poor eyes and hearing, and his fingers are crooked because the agent on the reservation is incompetent or dishonest or both. It frequently happens, also, that the Secretary of the Interior reaches conclusions which result in oppression and hardship to certain Indians because the agents are men of small caliber, or prejudiced, and report with the design of having the Secretary of the Interior arrive at such conclusions.

But this only suggests that while the agent is wholly deprived of the power of independent action and discretion, and thus destroying any real helpful work, constructive and otherwise on his part, on account of the delay and red tape necessary for the authorization of all his acts by the Secretary, yet this very system places the Secretary of the Interior practically at the mercy of the agent, for the reason that the Secretary can exercise his discretion in any matter only from the reports that may be submitted to him by the agent. Thus, it can be seen readily that however exalted, able and well intentioned the Secretary of the Interior may be, still it is the agent in the field who, at the outset, virtually directs the verdict of the Secretary in matters in which the discretion of such Secretary is required.

Agents receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars per annum on an average. There are many fine Indian agents in the service to-day, and if they were paid commensurate with the character of the service rendered, many of them would be drawing ten-thousand-dollar salaries, instead of the two. But the fact remains, that capable, competent and honest men of ambition are not attracted to a service such as is found on Indian reservations, away from social and other cultural environments, where the salary is only two thousand dollars per annum. In consequence the grade of men who occupy positions of agents on the various reservations can never be regarded as equal in any reasonable view to the requirements and responsibilities of their positions.

Such a system cannot be expected to accomplish very much of benefit and never has. It lends itself readily to the continual bickering between employees, between the agent and his Indians, and misunderstandings between the Indians and the Secretary of the Interior. The agent is accused frequently of denying Indians their rights, when such denial is upon the arbitrary action of some clerk in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, who desires to arouse the tribe against their agent. It lends itself readily to intrigue and scheming for political purposes. It is a machine highly calculated to keep the races apart, and through such separation exploit both the Indians and the government.

The various Indian reservations of the United States were all originally established for one purpose, namely, to keep the Indians away from the white people and the white people away from the Indians. On the part of the white people, it was urged that they should not be allowed to go on an Indian reservation because the Indians were treacherous, murderous and far from being friendly in disposition. On the part of the Indians, it was urged as an excuse for segregating them away from the white people that the Indians were unable to compete with the white people in a business way; that if the white people were permitted to intermingle with the Indians, the Indians in a short while would be without property. Thus, for many years the white people were made to believe that the Indians were a terrible race and the Indians were made to believe that the whites were grafters and common cheats.

Lately, the whites and Indians have begun to understand each other. In consequence, at the present time the status, generally, of the Indians of the United States is that of the allottee. The reservation has been superceded by the allotments. The Indian tribe has been replaced in the statutes and management of Indian affairs by the Indian individual. No longer are their chiefs and head men to hold sway over the destinies of the tribe, but the individual members have been citizenized and their destiny made one with those of the whites who have the privileges, immunities and rights of American citizenship.

Yet, the policy of segregation is still strenuously asserted. The allottee must not sell his allotment without permission from the Secretary of the Interior, his business transactions must all be controlled by the agent, and his children must be educated in special schools established for that purpose. He is still taught, to the extent of which he is capable of being taught, that he is still far

from being able to compete with white men in a business way, that government schools are more suitable for the education of his children than white schools, because his children cannot learn as fast as white children, because the Indians are dirtier than white people's children, because if Indian children went to white schools they would get lonesome.

In all the land in which we live not a word has yet been uttered by any agent of the United States which in the slightest degree could be interpreted as tending to advise the Indians, or any one of them, that they ought to leave the reservation, that they ought to insist upon having their children educated in schools which are producing presidents, senators, representatives, governors, great legislators, successful business men, and making it possible for refined and cultured homes everywhere. No such advice has even been uttered by any government officer, to my knowledge, with but one exception, in all the annals of the history of the United States. The exception is that of the founder of the Carlisle Indian School, who preached to all Indians, in season and out of season, that the way to solve the Indian problem was to take the Indians out of this country across the Pacific ocean into Asia, and bring them back into the United States by way of Castle Garden. I refer to General R. H. Pratt, formerly superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School.

Thus, it will be seen that the same policy is now being pursued by the government in relation to these Indians, that was pursued in establishing the original reservation. The apparent change is really only in the excuses which are now offered in justification of its existence. It is the same effort to keep the two races apart, and unless the country at large, and the Indians themselves, shall fully realize the situation and demand the abrogation and discontinuance of the system immediately, the day will dawn when new excuses will be urged to stay the Indian from departing the reservation, from leaving the purely Indian school, from going into channels of activity, which shall spell the final solution of the Indian problem and the demise of the Indian Bureau as a necessity.

Because the Indian agent is unable to perform any act independently of the authority of the Secretary of the Interior first had and received, practically his whole administration is subject to delay and loss of valuable time even where the performance of an act to be of any benefit, required the same to be done speedily. Thus, Indians who require teams and other farming implements in the

spring, are often unable to secure them until the necessity for the same have gone by. Thus, in many instances Indians buy horses and cattle in the fall which were asked for in the spring, then are compelled to sell at a sacrifice, almost immediately, because unable to winter them, without having the feed and hay which they could have earned or raised during the summer had they had the teams furnished to them at the time they requested them.

For the same reason the settlement of estates of deceased allottees and the partition of allotments to the heirs, are frequently delayed for years, where no reason exists for such delay excepting the piling up of work in the office of the agent while waiting for the necessary authority to proceed. Thus, many allotments which have been improved by the original allottees, are allowed to go to waste and natural deterioration, while where a settlement could have been accomplished speedily, it would not have been the case. I know of allotments on the Oneida Indian reservation which were worth eight to ten thousand dollars at the time of the death of the original allottee, which are now not worth half that sum because the Indian agent has been unable to effect a final settlement in the estate and the heirs have not been ascertained or placed in possession or given such protection as would justify them in investing their private means to the care and maintenance of the allotment at its highest point of productiveness and repair.

Thus, it can be seen readily that the Indians of the United States are living under a system of government which, to say the least, is far more calculated to keep them Indians than otherwise. The system of education which is carried on by the government has nothing for its object other than the training of Indian boys and girls to live on their allotments. It has never been claimed for the Indian schools by any one knowing anything about it, that they prepare Indians to live successfully among the whites outside of an Indian reservation; yet a casual reading of the reports of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, indicate apparently a *bona fide* belief that the work of the government will soon come to an end, that the Indians would soon be properly conditioned to go into the life and activities of our country and successfully compete with men of all races, giving and taking the advantages of civilized living as men equal with all men. It is not true.

Surrounding every Indian reservation in the United States to-day, are the potential systems of education and civilization not

surpassed anywhere in the world. Dotted everywhere in the land are the schools and colleges of the people of the United States, from whose portals come men and women not only able to live in civilization, but to make civilization. The government of the United States has within its control millions of dollars of Indian money. Is there any reason under the sun why this money should not be used to pay the tuition, board and clothing of Indian boys and girls in these schools to which the white man sends his children? If it is a good thing for the white man's children to attend Yale, Harvard, and other famous institutions of learning, why would it not be a good thing for the Indians to be permitted to attend those institutions also.

If Dr. Montezuma, Dr. Eastman, Rev. Coolidge, Rev. Roe Cloud, and scores of other noted Indian men and women who are successfully living and practicing their professions among the most refined and cultured of the white race, are not strong affirmative living answers to the question propounded, then attempting to reason with the powers that be, and urging the establishment of a policy which shall contemplate the mixing of the races, becomes a senseless agitation and a mockery. I am opposed to any scheme or policy which has for its object the separation of the Indian and white races; I am opposed to the establishment and maintenance of any Indian school while there are schools everywhere in the United States to which the Indians may be admitted upon equal terms with the whites, there to learn the truths of civilization at the feet of the same teachers who teach the white man's children; I am opposed to the establishment of any Indian courts or special quasi-tribunals for the adjudication of legal matters belonging to Indians while there exists all over the land courts of law and equity, with judges and chancellors, of great training and ability, presiding therein, with instrumentalities under their control to effectuate justice and the enforcement of law, whose doors should be open to the Indian litigant the same as it is open to the white litigant. In fact, I am opposed to treating Indians, either as to their property or persons, differently from other races of mankind who are citizens of the United States, and insist that Indians given the same opportunities as other men of the country, can and will achieve success to the same extent that success is achieved by other races of men having like opportunities.

But why dwell on that. That is not the problem which is seriously confronting the "invisible" government. The problem is

how to continue fooling the Indian into believing that they are not able to take care of themselves if the whites get their hands on them, and how to continue fooling the white people into believing that the Indians are wholly undesirable and their proper place is on the reservation. Slowly but surely both the whites and the Indians are opening their eyes to the true state of facts and thus the problem is slowly but surely becoming more complex. To the solution of this problem, which is far from being the *Indian problem* we are accustomed to hear about, I commend the thought and sound sense of all friends of the Indian.



Rights Are Given to the Useful Man

To the Indian, the Society of American Indians gives the chance of working out his own salvation. It gives him an opportunity to reach out for the higher things in civilized life and to assume his normal duties in this age. The time has come for the Indian to look forward; the time of looking backward has ceased. No man and no race may live on thoughts of the past or by nursing memories of past wrongs; to live they must plan for the future. There must be hope, not despair. The Society calls upon the Indian to think more of what he owes his country, his race, and what he owes to himself as a man, rather than to think overmuch what the government owes him. The government must pay; we shall see to that, but *the Indian must also pay his own debt to himself and to mankind by useful service*. If the Indian or any man does not honestly square himself with the world he deserves no rights because he has asked for something which he is not willing to pay for. *The Indian who will not claim his rights by deserving them by virtue of his own personal value to the world will never have any permanent rights*, and the rights he does have for the moment he will abuse and others will ignore. Through its endeavors to teach the higher law of service, the Society of American Indians gives to the Indian the chance to work out his own salvation. In this endeavor to better the nation we need friends. A membership in the Society is a token of friendship and the badge of patriotism.

Indian Administration¹

(An address to the Second Joint Conference)

By EDGAR B. MERITT

IT is with a great deal of pleasure that I attended the Second Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians. It was my good fortune to be here last year at the first regular meeting of this Society, at which time I became an associate member. I believe that I have profited by the meeting of this Society by coming in contact with the progressive Indians throughout the country, who have assembled here, and by reading the many splendid speeches delivered and papers published in the report of the proceedings of the last conference. It has given me a deeper insight and a broader view of the desires and needs of the individual Indians and the Indian race as a whole. Occupying a responsible position in the Indian Service, it is not only my pleasure, but I deem it to be my duty, to be present at this conference and profit by the exchange of ideas at the various meetings of the Society.

I realize fully and with regret, that many grave injustices have been done the American Indians in the past, but I am not so much concerned at this time in the mistakes of the past as I am in helping to procure and insure correct governmental administrative policies for the future which will result in bringing about improved conditions and better opportunities for the American Indian as a race and as individuals.

I realize that during the last fifty years there has been a vast improvement in the condition of the Indians. That statement is confirmed when we look about us here and see prominent Indians from all parts of the country, who are leaders in their trades, business and professions and some of whom have a national reputation gained by their persistent efforts, strength of character and hard work. I am delighted to see so many brainy Indian women taking such an active part in the proceedings of your organization. They appear to have been received into the Society in full fellowship and with equal opportunities to help solve the Indian problem. A care-

¹ Omitted from the Conference report in the second number of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL through loss of the original manuscript.

ful reading of the proceedings of the meeting of last year, and listening to the speeches and papers at this conference has convinced me that they are taking advantage of their opportunities in promoting the welfare of their race along practical and constructive lines. There is serious need for the existence of this Society and much good will be accomplished by your deliberations.

In the few minutes allotted to me it is not my purpose to take up the conditions of the past and point out the injustices done the Indians, but to face the future with hope, encouragement and even optimism regarding the progress of the Indians, and point out to you a few things which I believe if adopted will result in more efficient Indian administration and will improve the conditions of the Indians.

1. I believe that the present leasing policy of the government regarding Indian lands is an administrative absurdity. Under the present system a government farmer on an Indian reservation, who should in fact devote all of his time to teaching the Indians how to farm, is now busy, to a large extent, acting as lease clerk in preparing agricultural leases. The farmer submits the leases to the superintendent, the superintendent after examination submits them to the Indian Office, the Indian Office, after examination, submits them to the Department, all of which involves a large amount of red tape, unnecessary clerical work, and the taking up of the time of signing officials who should be devoting their energies and efforts to more responsible work. Adult Indians, reasonably competent, should be permitted to lease their own land for farming and grazing purposes for a limited period, and the superintendents should be held responsible for leasing the lands of the incompetents and minors. This would tend to develop the Indians by placing upon them responsibilities, and they would learn to transact business by actual experience.

2. I have been contending for more than a year that the Indian Office is holding too strict a rein over the expenditures of "individual Indian moneys" under its jurisdiction. These funds have grown within the last few years from three to more than twelve million dollars now deposited in various banks throughout the country. A most careful supervision and protection should be given the moneys of the minors and the aged and decrepit Indians, but the able-bodied Indians, in my judgment, should be given a freer hand in the handling of their funds, and should be encouraged to expend their money for comfortable homes and improvements on

their allotments, rather than for the Office to continue the strict supervision of expenditures which has been the practice heretofore.

3. There are about six thousand employees in the Indian Service connected with the supervising of the property and promoting the civilization and education of about two hundred thousand restricted Indians. This represents an employee for every thirty-three Indians, which in my judgment cannot be justified on the basis of sound, business, economical administration. It is believed that with a careful investigation with the view of eliminating unnecessary employees and doing away with a lot of useless red tape, that the present force could be materially decreased, a saving made in the cost of Indian administration, and the Indians given an opportunity to develop along natural and practical lines, without unnecessary official restrictions and interference.

4. It is apparent from actual conditions on various Indian reservations that there is an excessive percentage of diseases among Indians, especially tuberculosis and trachoma, that should not exist and should be gotten under control at the earliest moment possible. The present medical force is entirely inadequate to handle the situation, and I am strongly in favor of a very large appropriation by Congress that will enable the Indian Service to bring about improved health conditions among the Indians. The President in a recent message to Congress has set out very admirably the great need of larger appropriations for the Indian Medical Service.

5. There are seven or eight thousand Indian children who are without proper school facilities, more than five thousand being within the Navajo country. These deplorable conditions are the result largely of inadequate appropriations by Congress. A part of my duties in the Office is the preparation of the estimates to be submitted to Congress for the Indian Service. If the estimates as prepared by the Office recently are enacted by Congress at the next session, there will be ample funds with which to provide school facilities for every Indian child in the United States.

6. As tribal relations are broken up and Indians given individual allotments in counties organized politically and in States admitted to the Union, the Indians of necessity must become more closely identified with the local community. Under the circumstances described, the Indian question is becoming largely a local community question, and the States rather than the National government must assume a larger responsibility for the welfare of the Indians as a result of the natural evolution and

progress of the Indian individually and as a race. Because of these facts and these conditions, it is my judgment that the Indian policy for the National government should be shaped with a view of the States ultimately relieving the National government of its duties and obligations after the restrictive period on allotted Indian lands shall have expired. In this connection I might say, that the present conditions among the Indians of New York and the divided authority now existing between the State and National government regarding their personal and property rights, appear to me to be such as would justify the National government in relinquishing by Congressional enactment, all control over the New York Indians in favor of the State of New York, on condition that those Indians shall be given citizenship with equal rights, benefits and protection with other citizens of that State. The State of New York has had the experience in dealing with the Indians and has ample funds for this work. I believe that this suggested change, if adopted, would bring about improved conditions among the New York Indians.

7. Notwithstanding the fact that the government during the last century has appropriated several hundred millions of dollars for the support, education and civilization of Indians, there are to-day several thousand Indian families living under conditions that must of necessity cause the propagation and transmission of most dangerous diseases, such as tuberculosis and trachoma. It is difficult to develop either an Indian or a white man to a standard of civilization above and beyond his home environment. The Indians of this country possess tribal timber lands valued at nearly one hundred million dollars, and it seems almost inconceivable that with this large amount of timber, and after so many years of government supervision and administration, that there should be so many Indian families living under housing conditions that are a serious reflection on our government and our boasted civilization. I am strongly in favor of an adequate number of sawmills within these timbered reserves, so as to supply Indians with ample material with which to build themselves suitable sanitary homes. I have expressed my views on this subject more fully in an article contained in the "Red Man" for June, 1912, entitled "Sanitary Homes for Indians," and to which your attention is invited.

8. My views have been requested on the question of the water rights of the Pima Indians.

In a letter prepared by me, dated December 1, 1911, addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, and signed by Commissioner Valentine, I set out in great detail the facts and the law regarding the water rights of the Pima Indians. I have furnished a copy of that letter to your Secretary for the information of the Society.

A most cruel injustice has been done the Pima Indians by white people appropriating the water from the Gila river, to which the Pima Indians are justly entitled as a matter of equity and law. The government attempted to remedy this injustice by constructing an irrigation project on the Pima Reservation, costing about five hundred thousand dollars, the expenses of which, however, were to be reimbursed the government by those Indians. During the last session of Congress it was my pleasure to draft an item of legislation, which was included in the current Indian Appropriation Act, which will relieve the Indians of making this reimbursement to the government, and no reclamation construction charge will be required to be paid on the Pima lands so long as they are held by the Indian allottee or his heirs. If the San Carlos dam on the Gila river is constructed and that great and valuable reservoir conserved, the government may yet have an opportunity of furnishing the Pima Indians with adequate water for the irrigation of their lands.

9. The biggest question that remains to be settled in connection with Indian matters, is the proper solution of the Navajo problem. The estimates prepared for the Indian Bureau for the fiscal year 1914 contain requests for appropriations for development of the water resources of the reservation, and a request for specific appropriation for the education of the Navajo children who are now without school facilities. This Navajo question needs to be studied with the greatest care, and definite action taken only after a most careful survey of the entire situation in the light of the best thought on the problems involved.

10. There is pending in Congress, House Bill No. 47 which has for its purpose the amending of the Act of March 2, 1907, regarding the segregation of tribal funds in the United States Treasury. There are more than forty million dollars of these tribal funds. This is one of the most important items of legislation connected with Indian matters, and should by all means

be enacted at the earliest possible date. When these funds in the treasury become available for the use and benefit of the Indians a large number of Indians could be placed on their allotments in a position where they would soon become industrially independent.

Other legislation needed very much is the amending of the Act of June 25, 1910, regarding Indian wills. The legislation we now have on this subject is entirely inadequate, inasmuch as it covers only original allotments held in trust and does not include inherited allotments or personal property.

There is also serious need of legislation which will permit mining on Executive Order Indian reservations. We are now without any legislative authority whatever to accomplish this desirable work, which has resulted in a loss to Indians and is retarding the development of certain portions of the Indian country. The desired legislation has been submitted to Congress and it is hoped that it may be enacted at the coming session.

11. The water rights of the Indians should receive more careful attention than heretofore. Unfortunately, legislation has been enacted in the past which makes beneficial use of water on Indian land within certain reservations necessary if the water rights are to be held by the Indians. On a number of reservations, the government has constructed expensive irrigation projects out of Indian funds, and if the Indians do not make beneficial use of the water within a required time, they will have constructed the irrigation plants at their own expense and will have forfeited the water in favor of the white farmer without any cost to him, because of the failure of the Indian to make beneficial use of the water. It seems to me a legal and an administrative absurdity to hold an Indian's land in trust for his benefit and allow him to lose his water right because of lack of restrictions. In so far as the water rights of Indians are concerned, I am a strong believer in the principle laid down by the Supreme Court in what is known as the Winters case, reported in 207 U. S., page 564, wherein it was held in substance, that the government of the United States has the power to reserve waters of a river and exempt them from appropriation under the laws of the State, for the benefit of Indians who are wards of the government. In a large number of cases if the Indian loses his water right, the land retained in trust is practically valueless,

and in such a case the trust patent to the land becomes a farce. I have heretofore prepared a legal memorandum on the subject of water rights of Indians, which I shall be glad to furnish the officials of this organization for their information, consideration and for such action as they may deem proper.

12. Under the law, Indians are to be given at all times, so far as practicable, preference in the employment of clerical, mechanical and other help on reservations and about agencies. I am of the opinion that the Indian service should be composed more largely of the most progressive and best educated Indians. It is possible for a scheme to be worked out where positions in the Indian service could be held out as inducements to be offered for the best Indian students who equip themselves for work in the Indian service. The Indians of the country should have the largest possible share and a more active voice in the actual administration of Indian affairs.

13. Under existing law, Indian tribes are without general authority to submit their claims to the Court of Claims for final adjudication. The Court of Claims appears to be open to all other persons in the United States except the Indians who have claims against the government. I am strongly in favor of a properly worded general jurisdictional act along the lines of the bill which has been introduced in this Congress as Senate Bill 5151 and House Bill 19414. If this general jurisdictional bill cannot be gotten through Congress, I am in favor of special acts which will allow all Indian tribes who have claims against the government, to submit those claims to the Court of Claims with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court. All Indian claims against the government should, in my judgment, be adjudicated and settled at the earliest possible date.

14. The act of May 8, 1906, which amended the General Allotment Act by deferring citizenship of Indians until the issuance of a patent in fee, was in my judgment a serious mistake and a distinct step backward. It seems to me a strange and striking anomaly that there should be denied the first Americans the benefits and blessings of citizenship in our republic. All Indians of this country should be citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they live and be permitted to enjoy the rights and privileges of such citizenship.

In this connection those of you who are not lawyers may be interested to know that the Supreme Court on May 13, 1912, in the case

of Choate versus Trapp (224 U. S., page 665) held that Indians are not excepted from the protection guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, but that their rights are secured and enforced to the same extent as those of other residents or citizens of the United States.

I am a strong believer in extending citizenship to all allotted Indians. Citizenship has been extended to all Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, and there is in Congress from the State of Oklahoma a Representative and a Senator of Indian blood. Indians occupy some of the most important official positions within the State of Oklahoma, and Indians are among the leading business and professional men of the State. Citizenship has proved a great advantage to the Indians of Oklahoma and will prove a like benefit to the Indians of other States.

15. Section 1 of the Act of June 25, 1910, places exclusive authority in the Secretary of the Interior in regard to determining Indian heirship cases. There are several thousand undetermined heirship cases now pending at the various Indian agencies throughout the country. This results in tying up the sales of inherited lands involving a valuation of millions of dollars and prevents the heirs from using the money for their support and benefit. I am strongly of the opinion that an appropriation of at least one hundred thousand dollars should be obtained from Congress at the next session to enable the Indian Office to begin the making of a complete clean-up of all the inherited heirship cases now pending.

16. Section 5 of the Act of June 25, 1910, is sufficient authority of law, if vigorously enforced, to protect the Indians in the possession of their allotted lands held in trust, from the land grafters who frequently infest Indian reservations. The penalties provided in this section call for a heavy fine and imprisonment. If some of the land grafters at each Indian reservation were sent to the penitentiary under the provisions of this section, it would have a most wholesome influence in stopping the grafting on helpless Indian allottees. With an adequately organized agency inspection force which we do not now have and with the co-operation of the superintendents and the Indians, I believe that splendid results could be obtained along this line.

17. In a great many cases Indians who have received their allotments have sold them and the proceeds have been expended. Under our public land laws citizens are entitled to a second selection of a homestead under certain conditions. There are a great many

Indians throughout the country who have never received allotments. On a number of the reservations the allotment rolls have been closed for several years, and the Indian children born since the closing of the rolls are not entitled under existing law to allotments on the reservation, even if there were sufficient lands to be allotted. Section 31 of the Act of June 25, 1910, permits Indians who have improvements within national forests to take the allotments on which their improvements are located. This limitation, of course, permits only a very few Indians to receive allotments within national forests. I believe it would be desirable at an early date, for Congress to amend section 31 of the Act of June 25, 1910, so as to allow any Indian who has not an allotment, regardless of the fact that he may have received an allotment, to take up a homestead entry on agricultural lands within the national forest reserves of the United States. I believe very strongly that every Indian in the United States should be furnished an allotment of an area sufficient to provide a home for himself and his family.

18. There should be the strictest enforcement of the Federal laws regarding the suppression of the liquor traffic among Indians, notwithstanding the political influence of the offenders. The average Indian of this country can not be too carefully protected from his greatest weakness and worst enemy, intoxicating liquor, with its accompanying depravity and poverty. Liquor is too frequently the ally of the grafter and the contemptible white criminal who robs and ruins helpless Indians.

19. On a large number of reservations, Indians have been given allotments, but they are without funds with which to begin farming operations. I believe that it would be desirable and advisable for the government to provide a large reimbursable appropriation so that Indians might be able to procure sufficient funds with which to begin the proper cultivation of their lands. This action would relieve the government of gratuity appropriations and would place the allotted Indians on an independent industrial basis. With all the vast resources in lands, timber and minerals owned by the Indians of this country, there is no reason why, with proper conservation and utilization, they can not be among the most independent industrially and advanced socially of any class of citizens in this great republic.

20. The question of Indians in public schools, came up in the discussion this afternoon. In my judgment one of the greatest institutions of our country is our public school system. It has done

more to uplift our citizenship, equalize opportunities, make democratic our government, institutions and people than any other one agency. What is good to uplift, civilize and educate white children, is also good for the Indian. I am heartily in favor of placing Indian children in the public schools wherever possible. Instead of restricting this splendid work, I am strongly in favor of extending it wherever practicable so that the Indian children may have an equal opportunity and enjoy equal benefits and advantages with white children of this country.

I look forward with sanguine hopes and expectations to a wonderful advancement within the next few years, and a splendid standing and future among the citizenship of our country of the great race of American Indians.



Why is the Indian a Dependent?

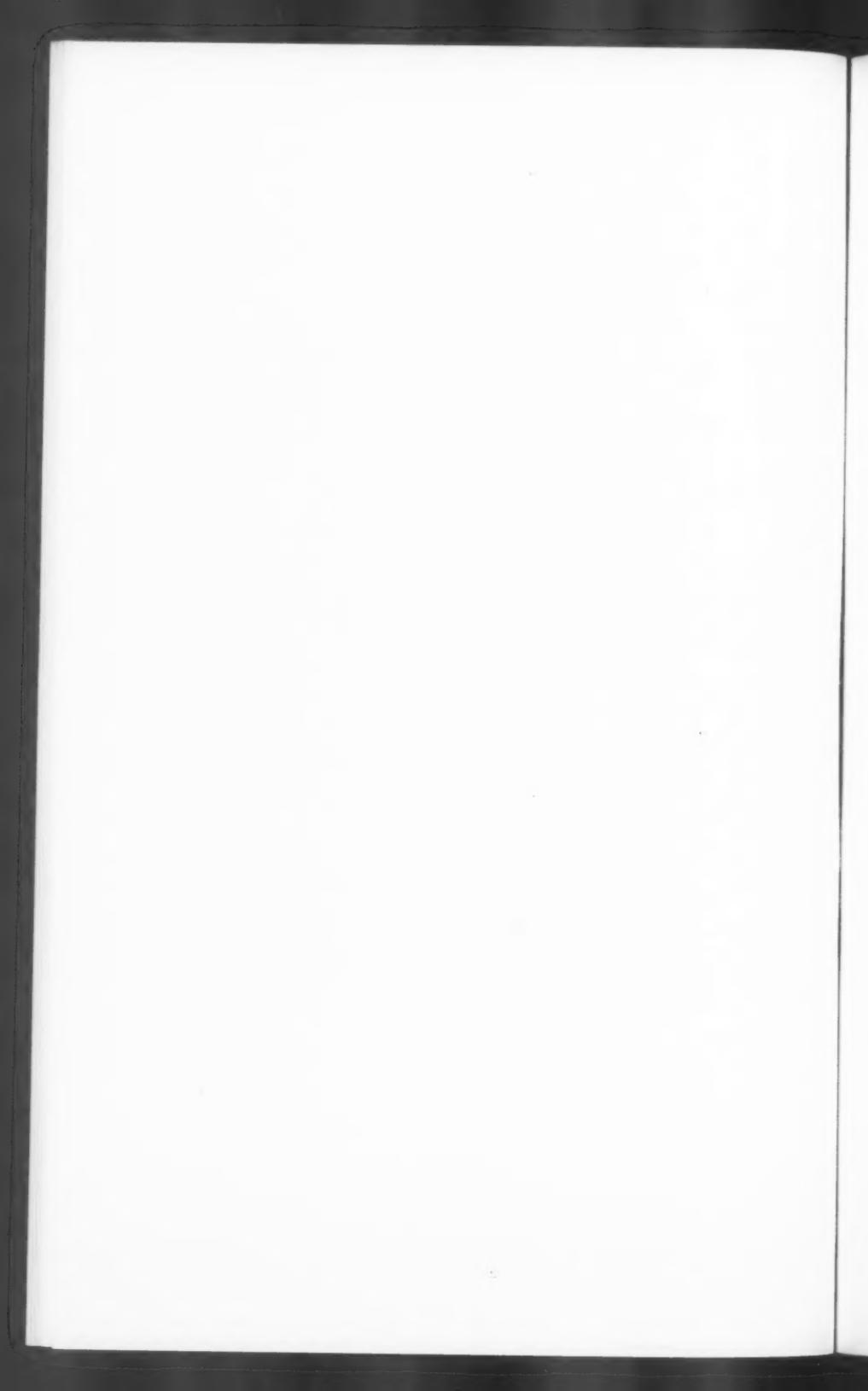
The November number of the *American Journal of Sociology* contains a masterful article by Isaac E. Ash, of Madison, Wisconsin. His subject is "What Makes a People Lethargic or Energetic?" Mr. Ash does not mention the Indian in his thesis, but his reasoning applies with great accuracy to that race. He says: "The mental dullness, physical laziness and lethargy of primitive races is due to communism in property. It is self-evident that any set of conditions that places a check or curb on self-expression and initiative and which causes men to move in herds — will have a tendency to eliminate rivalry and will stifle self-interest by substituting, as the motive of action, the impelling force of necessity for the lure of hope and suggestion of a personal interest." Mr. Ash says that too many old men in places of authority produce compromise and conservatism, and that "periods of stagnation and depression in a country's history" are likely to be contemporaneous with the rule of old men. Then he goes on to say that *undue reverence of the past and for the achievements of the past is likely to make men dreamers who will not progress.* Don't look back, he says, look forward. He goes on to say, "*Physical, social, and economic isolation removes men from the influence of the stimulus of standards or goals of achievement.*"

This describes, pretty well, the reservation system and the reservation environment and explains why the Indian is "backward."



CHAUNCEY YELLOW ROBE
(Sioux)

Mr. Robe made a stirring address at the Denver Conference, scoring wild west shows and moving picture reproductions of soldiers massacring Indians. Mr. Robe is a clean-cut gentleman of high ideals.



The American Indian of To-day and To-morrow¹

By FAYETTE AVERY MCKENZIE, Ph. D., of Ohio State University

THERE are at least three fairly distinct views held in this country of the native race. Perhaps for want of better names they may be called the views of the conqueror, the historian, and the statesman; or those of the biologist, the ethnologist and the sociologist. None of these terms is accurate, but they will serve to start us on our way.

The conqueror is an old-school Darwinian who believes that this world belongs to the strong and that the melting of the primitive races before the arms and business spirit of the "civilized" peoples is a heaven-decreed justification of the whole process of spoliation, exploitation and conquest. Even a friend of the Indian at the Mohonk Conference in 1909, said:

The old problem of a century or three-fourths of a century ago was how to persuade the Indian to step aside for the onward march of civilization; and the savage must always step aside for the onward march of civilization, because it is not only human law but it is God's law that progress, civilization and Christianity shall march on. The United States government has always attempted to guard the interests of the Indians and treat the Indians fairly and honestly and to take their property only after giving full compensation therefor.

Such philosophy as this is the conscious or unconscious comfort of a nation which dispossesses an ancient people and enters into the inheritance of continental wealth. It is the justification felt by a nation which would arbitrarily move a group of natives, now started upon the upward path, in order to make room for an army post. It is the excuse of the white man who would take the Indian's water in Arizona, his lumber in Minnesota, and his land in Oklahoma. What the white man wants the Indian should abandon. The rules of civilized war do not hold in contests with primitive peoples. Deception and robbery, some would imply, may be even the chosen instruments of Providence to place the wealth of the world in the hands of the efficient agents of civilization. The

¹Reprinted from *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 3, No. 2, October, 1912

fate of the dispossessed is pathetic but inevitable and necessary, if not directly deserved.

And it must be recognized that there are many signs adduced to show that the native is inferior and doomed. Judging the race by its independent achievements, particularly by its commonly reported achievements, and without taking into consideration its special handicaps of circumstance, it is easy to say that the accusation of inferiority is clearly sustained. And his history and fate since the coming of Columbus point in the same direction. For it must also be recognized that many well-intentioned efforts have been made to build out of the Indian race a higher order.

Henry Clay, in his memorial to Congress to aid the Cherokee to migrate to Indian Territory, nobly voiced the best sentiment of the nation when he said:

Let us treat with the utmost kindness and the most perfect justice the aborigines whom Providence has committed to our guardianship. Let us confer upon them if we can, the inestimable blessings of Christianity and civilization; and then, if they must sink beneath the progressive wave, we are free from all reproach, and stand acquitted in the sight of God and man.

Whether we have or have not lived up to this program, it is not essential here to decide. Suffice it to say that the Indian step by step has retreated to the wilderness and to the confinement of the government reservation where he has all too frequently degenerated. The necessities of war and the intentions of kindness have combined in the reservation and the reservation system almost to compel degeneracy, and so to give a seeming justification for the character we had already put upon him. Ignorance, laziness, improvidence and vice were added to savagery as the qualities which gave us the proverb, "no good Indian but a dead one."

Even missionary zeal seems to have established no permanent, independent Indian communities. Massachusetts Colony might on its seal represent an Indian uttering the Macedonian call "come over and help us." Eliot might issue his tracts entitled "The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel" and "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians," but who now can point to the communities established in Massachusetts by him? It is not possible here to call attention to the melting away of the mission Indians in New England and the Middle States. The disappointing results are suggested for all in Bliss' comment on Zeisberger (see *Diary of David Zeisberger* for sixty years a missionary among the Indians, page xxii):

His life is a sad one. It was his fate to labor among a hopeless race. In his last years he could see no lasting monument of his long labor. Even the Indian converts immediately about him were a cause of sorrow to him.

The Indian towns he founded a little over one hundred years ago in Ohio have long since been forgotten.

That these facts may not prove the incapacity of the Indian race or the inefficacy of the Christian religion does not concern us here. They are but isolated illustrations of a multitude of facts which have produced a wide popular belief in the inferiority of the native race. This belief has not, however, stood entirely in the way of Christian missions nor of educational efforts. As a nation we are far from being logical or consistent in our thinking or our policies. This popular estimate of the Indian, nevertheless, has not failed to prevent many forms of effort and, even worse, has not failed to rob many nobly intentioned efforts of their vitality and power.

But the responsibility of this philosophy of pessimism does not end even here. It works to rob the Indian of ambition; there is no salvation for a beaten people. It works to prevent any effective forward policy on the part of even the kindly-intentioned among the white race; it is folly to waste our energies upon a vain idea. Recently an official of high position in one of our western states explained his refusal to help a movement for self-help on the part of the progressive Indians of the country by saying, "I sometimes think they (the Indians) were sent only as a preliminary race on the continent. They have worked out their destiny and soon will become an extinct people."

The government appropriates about \$14,000,000 annually for Indian affairs. Is this money squandered merely to salve the conscience of a humane nation? Or is it spent with the hope and expectation of demonstrating the capacity of the native race to share in a real and substantial way in our civilization? Ought we not to accept one philosophy or the other, cut down upon our vain expenditures, or redouble our efforts to give our red brethren an equal share in our common heritage?

The second philosophy which we have suggested is more humane in its tone. It would partially waive the question of superiority and inferiority and would merely say that the Indian is different. Civilizations are natural products and are of slow development. They are the outcome of internal forces and can not be transferred by external means, no matter how benevolent. To the students of history and of ethnology who accept this theory in its entirety, it

seems imperative that we should keep our hands off the natural races for two reasons. In the first place, they constitute a museum of great interest and of very great scientific value. Nearer the beginning of the process of social evolution their habits and customs, their traditions and philosophy, their morals and religion have a significance which no student of human progress can afford to overlook, can afford to have annihilated. If we are to hope to gain the keys to the secrets of social forces and social development we must conserve every bit of human data which we can save even momentarily from the overflowing rush of our own civilization. Why, then, should we suffer any agencies, whether governmental or religious, to uproot the natural institutions of these primitive people and attempt to substitute even the best of artificial culture for them? We lose a world of truth and gain merely the semblance of civilization. In the second place, as has been already intimated, if our belated brethren are to be natural and are to make any genuine progress they must grow from internal forces, and not merely be clothed upon by a costume which, however valuable and handsome in itself, can not be retained because it is not the right shape and size.

Sad to say, both the pessimistic biological, and the *laissez-faire* ethnological theories are not rarely echoed by the Indians. The better educated Indian will attempt to excuse the backwardness of his people by calling attention to the centuries of development which lie between them and the Caucasians. The uneducated Indian pleads to be let alone. Both positions tend to make rapid progress improbable or impossible. So long, however, as we have genuine believers in this philosophy, we shall expect them in all consistency to seek the complete isolation of the race.

The chief objection to any attempt to preserve this particular race free from all outside influence is found in the impossibility of the scheme. The white man would not stay out and the Indian would not stay in the region assigned him. Moreover, if the white man's traditions and customs were completely unknown to the body of Indians when isolated, those traditions and customs would penetrate and permeate the group with strange pertinacity and success. The environment of the old Indian ideas has been changed and the Indian customs and traditions therefore no longer have their original vitality. These are the reasons why the let-alone policy generally would fail. Ours is a progressive world. The group that would live must adapt itself to the larger culture that

surrounds it. The longer the attempt is postponed the wider the gap that must be bridged.

Without, however, attempting to argue further, let us pass on to the third point of view or theory.

Certain anthropologists and sociologists provide the ground upon which an optimistic statesmanship can build a positive and progressive program. We may recognize lack of achievement in the Indian, we may even recognize the natural development of individuals and groups through internal forces, and yet see how progress may be accelerated through outside influences.

The problem leads to the question: Is culture a product of biology and blood, or one of psychology and tradition? The pessimist and the indifferentist work from the former premise, the optimist from the latter. If the mind, individual or social, is built up out of the environment and experience, we have great possibilities of racial mutation. We have only to effect a considerable change in circumstances (material and psychic) to bring about a corresponding change in ideas and culture. This is, of course, a considerable task and if to bring predetermined results must be done with the greatest of thoroughness and precision.

As a nation our policy toward the Indian has been confused. Pessimism, *laissez-faire*, and optimism have all had their time and place, holding us back and driving us forward as the case might be. But on the whole, optimism has prevailed in state and church. Hope has sprung eternal in the breast of the nation and out of the ashes of apparent failure each new period has found a voice proclaiming a policy which would avoid the mistakes of the past and assure success in the near future. In the long run the optimist has had his way. True, he has generally had to wait a decade or two and has been hampered by opposing conditions and doubting administrators. Nevertheless to-day the United States stands at the close of the first stage of a great sociological endeavor. Perhaps no other nation in the world has ever undertaken so thorough a plan for the salvation of a race through the transfer of culture. No greater glory could come to a nation than to succeed in bringing a primitive people into full participation in the best of its own civilization. It is proverbial that a primitive race always dies in the presence of a higher culture. It is certain that the Indian can not survive except he come completely into the life of the nation.

It is the object of this paper to suggest what has been accomplished, what the present situation is, and to inquire whether, as a nation, we will take the sufficient and necessary steps to realize

upon the possibilities now so evidently within reach. For it should be borne in mind that the task is so great and yet so delicate that a slight oversight of some one of the factors entering into the problem may render futile an otherwise splendid policy. We are engaged in a contest wherein the verdict must be either success or failure. It is a life and death struggle. It is the story of the swimmer rescuing a comrade from the waves. He may swim a mile and yet lose a precious life unless he actually reaches the land before his strength gives out. Land is in sight. Shall we keep on?

Let us measure the distance.

Common opinion regards the Indian as a vanishing race. The fear of extinction becomes a dream of terror to some of the Indians themselves. "We die! We die!" the cry of an Indian of the southwest, is made the central note of a popular magazine article. But statistics do not seem to justify the belief in any absolute sense. The last three census enumerations have reported 248,253, 237,196 and 265,683 Indians. Disregarding the apparent inaccuracy in 1900, there has been an increase of 17,430 in twenty years, or 7 per cent. This increase is, of course, very slight. By comparison with the native white increase of 15 per cent. for ten years and the negro increase of 11.3 per cent., it becomes clear that the Indian is relatively falling far behind. In 1890 the Indians formed 39/100 of 1 per cent. of the whole population of the country. In 1910 that proportion had fallen to 29/100 of 1 per cent.

Disease is making a desperate attack on the race as it attempts to live under new conditions set for it by the nation, but the government is not indifferent to the situation. The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs puts health as one of the three main objects of his administration. His last report tells of the organization and efforts of the Bureau to conserve and improve Indian health. The organization includes a chief medical inspector, 100 regular and 60 contract physicians, 54 nurses and 88 field matrons. Special campaigns are waging against tuberculosis and trachoma. The government maintains four sanitaria for Indian consumptives as well as a trachoma hospital in charge of two experts in diseases of the eye. The volume of effort, inadequate as it is, is suggestive of the magnitude of the health problem facing the Indian administration.

And yet with all the discouraging facts of birth, death and disease rates we must not forget that the army company which ranked highest among all those examined during the Civil War was one made up of Seneca Indians. And recent history has not

failed to record an Indian as the world's best all-round athlete. James Thorpe is only one individual, but his achievements will stir the ambition of his race. Physically there is no reason why the Indian should not live and compete so long as his blood is distinguishable from the composite race of America. The problem of disease, of course, is a critically serious one and demands much greater attention than it is now receiving. Better conditions and more complete medical attention must be matched by a wider knowledge and greater effort on the part of the Indians themselves. Fundamentally it is an educational problem. Knowledge and courage are the solutions. If it requires \$500,000 or \$1,000,000 at once to grapple with the situation, it will be the greatest of economies to spend that amount. It will save larger expenditures in the future. Health is cheaper than disease.

A matter of more general, popular interest is that of the legal and political status of the Indian. What are his chances to share in the life of his time? This is a question of increasing significance, for until recent decades it was generally true that an Indian was not a citizen and could not become a citizen. From the beginning the Indian has been "a perpetual inhabitant with diminutive rights." Not until 1870 was it certain that he was even a "person" in the light of the law and so theoretically entitled to the benefit of *habeas corpus*. The constitutional provision excluding "Indians not taxed" from the enumeration determining Congressional representation, practically excluded all Indians from even the possibility of both taxation and citizenship. Nevertheless custom gradually counted certain Indians among the taxed, especially in the east where they were relatively few in number. How many these were no one can say. Not until 1890 was there any census report of Indians taxed. If we assume the term "civilized Indians" used in the census of 1880 as the substantial equivalent of "Indians taxed" we have a starting point from which to measure the progress of the last thirty years. If we draw a line from Missouri to New Jersey, we shall find that all the states crossed by that line and all the states to the south, as well as all the New England states and Texas, twenty-seven altogether, at that time counted their Indians as "civilized," or, as we would say, "taxed." Every State in the Union except Oklahoma had at least a few civilized Indians. Altogether there were 66,407 such Indians, or 21.7 per cent., besides the enumerated and estimated 240,136 Indians not civilized.

Large changes have come since 1880. By the Dawes act of 1887, there were created for the first time two general classes of potential Indian citizens. In the first place, every Indian who should take up his residence separate and apart from any tribe and should adopt the habits of civilized life, became a citizen. The second class was of more importance, for it included every Indian receiving an allotment of land in severalty. By subsequent legislation every Indian in the present State of Oklahoma became a citizen.

As a result of this legislation the number of taxed Indians has in the last thirty years largely increased. Oklahoma, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Michigan have been added to the states where all the Indians are taxed. The taxed Indians now total 193,825, or 73 per cent., leaving only 71,872 Indians not taxed. In 1880 there were eleven states where less than 25 per cent. were taxed. In 1910 there were only four — Arizona, Wyoming, Montana, and New York. The anomalous backwardness of New York is due to the disputed Ogden claim. The government would have done well long years ago to pay the claim, if it could not have been settled in any other way. It is incredible that an intelligent people should much longer allow \$200,000 to bar the path of progress for thousands of Indians.

Although the Burke act of 1906 postponed citizenship for twenty-five years for the grantees of allotments made after that date, except in individual cases, the writer believes other forces at work will bring the very large majority of the Indians, outside of the possible states of Arizona and Montana, into the class of the taxed by 1920. This situation marks a great change, but at the same time it emphasizes the necessity of a greater and more significant change.

It is vitally important that the Indian's status shall be exactly defined and that every one shall know what his privileges and what his duties are.

This leads us to the unfortunate fact that there is no necessary connection between taxation and citizenship. The Indian may swell the population for the Congressional district, he may be counted as taxable, and yet be substantially, and apparently legally, debarred from citizenship. No one knows to-day what the status of the Indian is. Even such facts as we do know present such a diversity of situation in the different states that no general statement can be made for like classes in different parts of the country. But this might be condoned if the status of the Indian in each state

was understood either by him or by the general public. Doubtless even Congressional enumeration as "taxed" carries an Indian (if only he knows he is one of the number so classed) far along the road to citizenship; he becomes relatively at least a "potential citizen." As the writer has elsewhere said:

So long, however, as we have taxed Indians and non-taxed Indians, citizen Indians and non-citizen Indians, independent Indians and Indian wards, and so long as we have every sort of combination of these classes, and further, so long as we have neither certainty as to classification nor definiteness as to the status when named, just so long we shall continue to have a condition of confusion in Indian Affairs intolerable alike to government and Indian. Indians of like capability and situation are citizens in Oklahoma and non-citizens in New York. Allottees are citizens in Nebraska and non-citizens in Wyoming. In many cases in the same state some of the allottees are citizens while others are not.

All this merely illustrates how the form of privilege may not carry with it the substance. Fortunately, however, the situation is one of such unstable equilibrium and the balance is so surely tending in one direction that we can safely rely upon a considerable forward step in the immediate future. Definition of status and uniformity of rule for the several classes of Indians throughout the country, together with simple and feasible methods for the early admission of individuals and groups of Indians into the full privileges of citizenship, seem to be the most important considerations at the present time. The Carter code bill, now pending in Congress provides for an expert commission to work out the plan.

The indefiniteness of the Indian's position has its good features as well as its bad. As a ward he remains under the protection of the government and can be protected from his own improvidence. Those who oppose citizenship do it upon the basis that the freed Indian will immediately sell his land and squander his money. We should then have an army of paupers upon our hands. Another objection raised to uniformity of rules is that the conditions and stages of development vary so from State to State that injustice would result from like treatment. To the writer it would appear that both of these objections can be met by some plan which is merely hinted at in a suggestion he wishes to make. He called attention some years ago to the fact that protection and privilege may sometimes go hand in hand.

That the granting of citizenship does not operate to prevent the government from reviewing the contracts of Indians is clearly shown by the decision of the Circuit Court, western district of

North Carolina, against D. T. Boyd and others, which stated through Judge Simonton that though the eastern Cherokee Indians are citizens of North Carolina, vote and pay taxes, yet the national government has not ceased its guardian care over them, nor released them from pupilage. The federal courts can still, in the name of the United States, adjudicate their rights. Nor is this without precedent. The American seaman, born a citizen of the United States or naturalized as such, has extended over him the guardian care of the government and is a ward of the nation. The statute books abound with acts requiring his contracts to be looked into by officers appointed for that purpose and every precaution is taken to guard him against fraud, oppression and wrong.

A careful examination of the law and the circumstances of the several groups of Indians in the United States, as provided for in the Carter code bill, would enable a commission of competent men to define (1) the status of the native, and (2) the status of the Indian citizen. Parallel with these grades there might be established varying degrees of wardship; perhaps the advance toward unlimited citizenship might be accompanied by a decreasing paternal control by the government. The commission, after investigation, would know whether and how to make a large series of ranks, or possibly to recommend citizenship for all Indians. The relation of guardianship protection to administrative control will need careful definition. Without thinking that the scheme given below is in itself feasible, it is submitted here with a view to suggesting how some progressive scheme might meet the needs of the situation and at the same time stimulate the Indians to advance from grade to grade:

GENERAL STATUS	SPECIFIC CLASSIFICATION	GENERAL SITUATION	GOVERNMENT CONTROL
I. Native	1. Tribal ward	Communal land.	Land and trust funds. Agency administration.
	2. Allotted ward	Land in severalty. Allotted trust funds.	Federal supervision of land contracts and trust fund expenditures.
II. Citizen	3. Citizen ward	Land in fee. Control of funds. Legal standing in courts.	Federal review of contracts prior to signing or within three months thereafter.
	4. Full citizen	All privileges and disabilities of the rank.	

Since definition of his status is also going to mean increase of assured privileges, the Indian is henceforth to have a spur where he has had a check-rein. Ambition will supplant melancholy and hopelessness. If the Indian is to live it must be through that cordial appreciation and recognition of his genuine qualities which is involved in a defined status and general citizenship. The government will likewise profit immediately through lessened costs of litigation and administration, and ultimately and largely through the rapid elimination of the Indian problem.

Critically important as citizenship is, it is merely a circumstance, merely the open door, which makes possible or effective the working of more fundamental forces. The race itself must respond to the opportunity. It must develop into harmony with the new order. Character, attainment, achievement are the final tests of a race. That the Indian race is responding to larger opportunities for personal development even under existing conditions is most encouraging. The fundamental problem for the race to solve subdivides into the four problems of language, literacy, industry and religion.

Bitter as the truth may seem or sad, the fact remains that in all these matters the Indian must accept the forms set by the Caucasian, just as all the immigrant races coming to this country in the long run accept the prevailing English language. It is merely an expression of the economy of majority rule.

For this reason the school is the fundamental institution in the solution of all these problems, for it provides the common medium of communication and brings with it the atmosphere in which the Indian breathes health industrial, cultural, and spiritual. Because the Indian, like the rest of us, is in large degree the direct product of his intellectual environment, when he is given the same language and the same body of thought he will find adjustment to the new order automatic and easy.

The Indian schools have been a late and relatively slow development. To-day, however, speaking extensively, the problem of schools and school attendance is practically solved. The annual appropriation has grown from \$20,000 in 1877 to \$3,757,909 in 1910. The proportion of expenditures for Indian schools as compared with the general Indian budget, has increased from one-half of one per cent. to 26.9 per cent. This proportion should continue to increase. To-day, 50,073, or 56.3 per cent. of the 88,794 Indian youth between the ages of six and nineteen years are found in some school. Between the ages of ten and fourteen years the per-

centage rises to 71.4. The general average is brought down by six of the Rocky Mountain states, especially by Arizona with only one-third attending school, New Mexico with only one-fourth, and Utah with only one-ninth. On the other hand, three-fourths of the children in Minnesota, Oregon and Kansas attend school.

It is easily seen that the great majority of Indians are now for the first time receiving some schooling. We may therefore inquire what results have accrued up to the present time. The ability to speak English and the ability to read and write are the first two tests which we must apply, not only because they are the two chief objects sought in the schools, but because they are the fundamental tools of our system of thought and culture. Unfortunately they have been too nearly the sole objects of the "literary" part of Indian education. Not infrequently twelve years have been spent with almost no other result than a formal knowledge of the art of reading and writing in English. Nevertheless even that result once universally achieved puts the next generation in a position for an immeasurable forward stride.

The following table will show the gross figures for the country as a whole. Not quite half of the Indians are illiterate, and only slightly over one-fourth can not speak English to some extent.

ILLITERATES: TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER		UNABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH: SIX YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	
Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
85,756	45.4	62,743	28.8

These figures may be astonishingly good in the eyes of the average reader but the real encouragement does not appear until we divide the Indians into age groups. Adult illiteracy is 56.1 per cent., while the illiteracy of youth is only 22.4 per cent. and even that is largely concentrated in four states. Inability to speak English averages 37.8 per cent. for adults and 15.8 per cent. for youth. Two-thirds of the youthful inability to speak English is found in the three states of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

For the country as a whole it is evident that the backbone of the problem is broken. As the old are replaced by the young, ability to read and write English will become almost the universal rule.

As has already been intimated, these statistics represent formal

rather than substantial education. They are vastly important, but chiefly because they open the door for a real forward movement. It is evident that three demands press upon the country. In the first place the government should insist upon and secure highly trained teachers. Their task is not less but greater than is laid upon the high school teachers of the country. Standards of employment should be not less rigid. University education, even with special training in race psychology and Indian history and problems, would not be wasted upon the teaching service. Why should we not in our relatively small problem set as high standards as England does for her Indian Civil Service? It is evident that we can not raise our standards, however, unless we first raise our present disgracefully small salaries. The country should support the Indian Office in any efforts to multiply results and to cut down ultimate costs by efficiency secured through adequately paid, highly trained service.

In the second place, the schools should be standardized so that as early as possible Indian youth could step into white schools without loss of grade or time. This will involve not only expert teachers but a sufficient number of teachers to give the personal attention which children handicapped by a strange language require. It is a great injustice to throw away one, two or three years of one child's time, not to mention doing so for thousands of children. To insure the results here advocated will involve, moreover, adequate systems of records and inspection.

In the third place, the scheme of education must involve higher education. Few Indian children get a grammar school education in the government schools; none get a complete high school course. This condition of affairs has been justified in the past. It will not be in the future. It reacts injuriously upon the individual and the race. With the highest set so low, it is not strange that the youth does not see that there is much in education worth his while and attention. Nor does he see that he is permanently handicapped in competition with other men who secure five to ten more years than he. For the exceptional boy who aspires through the college to larger opportunity, lack of college preparatory training brings discouragement and defeat. It is true that there are honorable exceptions to this rule, but they are remarkably few.

It is true, also, that many people would consider it a mistake to advocate, at least to endow, college education for the Indian. This entire paper, however, is written on the assumption that whatever

is advisable for white youth is equally advisable for Indians, and that until there is a race appreciation of higher education the government will be justified in doing whatever is necessary to encourage and enable Indian youth to enter upon the higher paths. Moreover, the race is critically in need of leadership. In the long run their leaders must be able to comprehend all the methods of their white competitors. They must have the widest of wisdom if they are to lead a race wisely to the highest goal. In a journal like this it is not necessary to explain that college education is not the only road to financial or other success. It is not a fetich, but it is safe to say that advanced training is the chief tool of power.

If any scheme could be devised which would carry any considerable number of Indian youth into the white colleges, that would be far better than the creation of a separate Indian institution. But at the present time two conditions seem to stand in the way. In the first place, there is a great gap between the Indian school and the white college. College preparation itself involves a transfer to a white preparatory school under conditions of considerable strain to the doubting or diffident youth. In the second place, there seems to be a very considerable reluctance on the part even of the older Indians to enter into daily competition or comparison with a large group of whites. Some special stimulus will be necessary if the forward step, now possible, is to be taken by large numbers of Indians.

It is fortunate that the government easily can, if it will, provide just the provisional or intermediary assistance which the situation requires. With the strong desire now existing to raise the standards of the local schools and so to render unnecessary some of the larger non-reservation schools, it would be perfectly feasible to select the boarding school best adapted and turn it frankly into a combination secondary school and junior college, putting it in its teaching force on a par with the best preparatory schools and colleges of the land. This plan would have the following values: (1) It would emphasize or re-define throughout the whole system the value of education. (2) It would provide college preparation. (3) It would give two years of standard college training. (4) It would make it feasible later to encourage attendance two years longer at a white college (if the proposed institution were located in a town of some standard university or college, the transition to the non-Indian college could be made very gradual and easy). (5) It would provide the training for Indians who should later

become the teachers of their race all over the country. (6) It might be opened to Indians from the countries to the south and so work to international comity as well as start a movement for the welfare of the millions of natives still surviving on this continent. (7) Above all it would provide for the needs peculiar to the Indian and to those members of the race who aspired to teach and lead their people. Few white colleges pay any attention to Indian history or Indian problems.

Literate and with a language common to the whole nation the Indian will almost unconsciously swing into the industrial and religious life of the country. On neither of these points do we have information so recent or so complete as on those already given.

When the census data on occupations of Indians, now collected in Washington, shall be compiled and published, doubtless it will show a most surprising diversity of occupations. The Indian seems to be less rather than better qualified for agriculture than for other lines of industry.

At least he is found doing almost everything from baseball to law and from fishing to preaching. The industrial training in the boarding schools is turning out hundreds of Indians who are successes in the business world. Mr. J. M. Oskison, at the First National Conference of Indians held last October, said, "I believe the average Indian would rather work his brain than his hands. That has been accounted our misfortune. I think it will be our salvation. There is room for us in the professions, there is a wide market for brains." Superintendent Friedman in the *Carlisle Red Man* has furnished a gallery of the successful Indian workers, a gallery such as only Carlisle can as yet show. Enough has been done and enough shown to convince the world that the Indian can compete on even terms in many industries with white men, and that he will do so in all lines when equal training is secured for him. The distribution of Indians among the various industries will take care of itself as rapidly as the race is made partaker of the thought of the nation.

No adequate survey has ever been made of the religious situation of the Indians. The writer hopes within a few months to make at least a partial effort in that direction, but at the present time he must have recourse to the figures he collected and published in 1906. At that time, or just prior to it, the Protestant churches claimed 18,000 Indian communicants in their churches, while the Bureau of Catholic Indian missions claimed upward of 100,000

Indian members of the Catholic church; although their enumerated membership was said to be 56,774. It was felt fair at that time to multiply the Protestant membership by three as a means of estimating Protestant adherency. Adding this latter number, 54,000, to the estimated Catholic membership, we find that 150,000, or over one-half of the Indians of the country were under Christian influence and control. Doubtless the situation has grown more favorable during the last decade. The Indian is becoming, in name at least, essentially a Christian race. It remains to be seen whether the results in character are what they ought to be. This is hard to determine. Character is expressed in conduct. But when the modes and conditions of life are essentially different the expression will likewise be different. The moralities of industry, of contract, of punctuality, of sanitation and of a thousand other matters will make little impression upon a people whose history has not suggested them. Only as the Indians come into the *life* of the nation will their religion or their morality take shape recognizable as such by the dominant forces in the nation. Christianity will appeal to the Indians and will express itself satisfactorily in Indian lives in increasing degree as the industrial and intellectual life of the nation becomes the industrial and intellectual life of the Indian country. The beauty and strength of the Indian faith will then be transformed and combined with the beauty and strength of the Christian faith.

The writer is an optimist. He believes in the Indian and in the great mass of Indians. He holds that perhaps the two most dangerous enemies of the race are, first, those who believe that the Indians are inferior and unworthy of the best, and, second, those who (more or less unconsciously) assume that the Indians are so superior that they do not need the same quality or degree of training and opportunity as white people. We need a public opinion which will justify and demand a much better quality of service for the Indian open to and reaching the whole body of the race. The capacity for progress is within the race. The stimulation to progress must come from those who have taken the forward step, whether they be Caucasian or Indian. Had we put as much intelligence and thoroughness into our Indian policy thirty years ago as we are employing now we should now be thirty years nearer the solution of our problem. At least it would be difficult to underestimate the amount of time we have lost by our extravagant parsimony of that date. We can see to-day the advisability and necessity of Indian

schools as our public men could not see it a generation ago. The logic of the situation will carry our slow minds within the next thirty years at least as far as we have gone in the past thirty. In fact if our policy is anywhere near right, we ought to anticipate the future and do to-day what we shall know in 1940 we ought to have done. If we wait we shall lose a generation of Indians and perhaps substantially lose the race. It is the last call to the leaders of both races to reverse the verdict of history and to prove, through endeavor sufficient in thoroughness, intelligence and quality, that a primitive race need not perish in contact with modern life. Otherwise we shall have another sad, long-drawn-out and expensive spectacle of a race passing through poverty, pauperism, and disease into the graveyard of fallen peoples.

But we are not going to fail. We are going to ask and demand that the optimist philosophy be put into practical service by optimists for the welfare of the Indian and the credit of the nation. Each race has an important rôle to play.

The white race, through the government, must do with completeness and thoroughness what it essays to do at all. In the field of education it must bring a school within the reach of every child and must insist upon teachers who will make the school time count for its maximum possibilities. This means much higher standards (and correspondingly higher pay) for admission to the teaching service. Some plan must be devised which will actually bring advanced training to a considerable body of the race. Had we an Indian welfare college, as has here been suggested, it ought within ten years to insure an enrollment of at least 1,000 (1.1 per cent. of the school population) either for itself or on the rolls of white colleges all over the country. Such an institution could, as no other college, specifically train the ambitious and altruistic of the race for service and leadership. It should fit into its curricula those subjects needed to broaden the view and intensify the knowledge of Indian problems, while meeting at least the minimum requirements for standard college entrance and teaching. In a word, it should revive the spirit of Hampton in a school of more advanced requirements. Not knowledge alone, but inspiration is needed for those who would teach and lead the race.

But why should a nation of nearly 100,000,000 people trouble itself about 265,000 people scattered all over its wide domain and hidden in its deserts and mountains? The answer is plain. We owe something to the people whom we have supplanted. We owe

the best of guardianship to our national wards. We owe that which the strong always owe to the weak. In themselves these people are worthy of adequate care. Rightly treated, they will shortly become a national asset instead of a burden; it is economy to invest in them. And beyond the few thousands under the American flag there stand the uncounted millions to the south of us who claim Indian blood. In addition to the natives of Mexico and Central America, it has been estimated that there are 30,000,000 of people in South America having at least some aboriginal blood. If we can bring our own Indians into the national life we shall have learned the method and found the people to bring like progress and welfare to the many millions of the race under other flags, many of whom are in no less need of inspiration and help.

The rôle of the Indian leader is not less evident. He is the one who can appeal to his people without danger of misinterpretation. After the government has granted a just legal and political status, has safeguarded land and property, and has provided the absolutely best of educational opportunities, the great task remains to be done. To arouse a race deadened by subjugation, segregation and partial pauperization, to encourage the old, and to inspire the young to realize and to enjoy the privileges of the new era — this is the task laid upon the members of the Indian race who have seen the vision and who have the courage to sacrifice their time and strength to carry that vision to their brothers who may now be content to stand still. The need is met by the promise.

The formation of the Society of American Indians was not an artificial happening. It was made possible by the developments of the past thirty years. It calls into its membership those who know the needs and have the devotion to labor and to give of themselves that their race may rise and face the East.



"The hope of the race lies in the altruism and the strength of its more favored members who are endeavoring to organize the best of the modern representatives of the race in a way which will make self-help and race-confidence possible.

"The final great object of the Society is to inspire their own race with courage and ambition to strive for a full share in the national life." — PROF. F. A. MCKENZIE.

The Right Spirit for the Indian Student and How to Get It

By ELVIRA PIKE (Uintah Ute)

WE ALL know that the only way for a race to progress is to make each new generation better than the old, and the only way to do this is to wisely train every child in that race. This does not mean in arithmetic and literature only, but in useful labor, in self-control, in honesty, in the arts of government, and in high aims and achievement.

The Indian students of to-day are not so different from any other student that they require a special plan or method to bring about the right spirit; but as wards of the government, the Indians as a race and as students, have not been fairly treated. They have not had the proper freedom; and in many cases, instead of the right spirit, they have practically no spirit at all. They have been treated too much like prisoners who have committed some awful crime. Instead of getting the right spirit, the spirit has been killed—they are left without spirit to develop. Even the old Indians of years ago were proud to make almost any sacrifice to uphold the honor of their race. They had the spirit of patriotism, and I believe that it is the right spirit for the Indian student of to-day—to uphold the honor of the race, to want a good education that will enable him to become a good citizen, and to be useful in his country, and a help to his race.

Give the Indian student a fair chance, and the right spirit will result from it. I suppose most of you have read or heard of the story of Phillip Nolan, "The Man Without a Country." Has this not been the case with the Indian? Indians have not had any pride in their government, for it seemed as if they were in it, but not a part of it.

The Indian children, as they are brought from the reservations to the government schools or mission schools, do not understand why or for what reason they are there. But, like any children, they are eager to learn, and it is very interesting to me to know that they *are* eager to learn. In most cases, the right spirit or the wrong spirit in a child comes from surroundings, or whatever the child has to come in contact with.

A child's will is a very difficult problem for the adult to understand without study. I believe in the free-will plan—that of giving the child as much of freedom as one can, and not hurt his spirit by trying to break his will. First determine the lines along which the student's longings run, and adapt the lessons, or teachings, along these lines, as near as possible. Of course, we know that there are always exceptional cases.

I believe in giving the students freedom in choosing for themselves the work and studies that appeal most to their special stage of development. In following out this plan of freedom, I find one may often develop a social instinct in the Indian student which can not be done in any other way. Two or three girls or boys may form a group and work or study together to a far better advantage than one can direct, just the way they do in play.

All Indians were not made for farmers any more than all white men were made for cobblers or carpenters. Nevertheless, a very valuable part of the educational work is the manual training and the nature study. I am glad to say that in most government schools each one of the grades or classes have their little gardens where they plant, weed, water, watch the growth, and harvest. Children like quick-growing seeds, those that mature quickly. It is so hard for the little folk to wait for germination. I have seen farmers just like children. But the most important lesson in gardening for the Indian student is not the cultivation of plants, but the spiritual growth that is theirs after they have watched and helped the growth of a seed.

I often think, when I look at some of our government officials, that it would do them good to have to get out on the farm and plant, weed, water, *observe*, and harvest—and think of what it all teaches.

The question has often been asked, "What shall be done with the Indian student, or what shall be made of him?" and it has been said "make farmers out of the boys, and farmers' wives of the girls"—as though they were a lifeless piece of clay to be moulded into shape, as suited the whim of an experimenter.

The Indian student has a will and impulses of his own which must be reckoned with. The very spirit of a boy or girl is often killed by trying to make out of him what he has no will to be, and, try as hard as he will, he can not put his heart into the work. "The Heart in the Work" is the key to success, no matter what that work may be. Any honest work is honorable. The Indian

student who loves his people and his country (and where is there an Indian student that does not, if his spirit has not been killed by some ill-treatment?) is more apt to love his work; and one who loves his work has a far better chance of winning than the one who "toils because he must."

So few students realize the importance of school life, with the advantages before them, or that the studies which they pursue are the resources for their future food and clothing. It is important that all students should be taught to make the most of their time, and every advantage of school life, and especially the Indian students. In this day and age no Indian student can afford to look at education in any other light than that of a necessity.

Usually by the time a student reaches the age for making a choice for his life work, he is capable of making one. True, they are reluctant at times, but in most cases is it not from indolence or self-distrust, because they have had too much freedom? No! not enough freedom in individual development.

No lawyer or doctor, merchant or farmer, who is worthy of the name, was ever made by anybody but himself. The Indian student should have more freedom to make out of himself a useful human being.



"Every child of Indian parentage must be sought out to see that he is steadily in school. If the ideal condition of education at home in district schools can not be obtained, because of inaccessibility or lack of interest of local officials or parents, then the department should see that the children are sent to tribal or Government schools. Unless the Government or the State realizes the vast importance of educating and training this younger element, it is not difficult to portray the conditions that will exist when what little they may inherit is eaten up. If we are to turn over to the State a self-sustaining Indian people, it can only be done by a gradual process and a *vigorous educational policy for every Indian child*. This can not be accomplished by any "hit and miss" plan of here and there a pupil attending school.

"Next in importance to education is the improvement of the health of the Indians. We can not expect men to labor even if fitted by training if they are physically weak.—DANA H. KELSEY, in his 1913 Report on the Five Civilized Tribes.

The Third National Conference of Indians and Their Friends¹

GOVERNOR AMMONS of Colorado has the reputation of understanding relative values. One of his estimates of a great movement was embraced concisely in his statement to the Society of American Indians, during the conference reception night, in Denver, October 14. "Among a thousand organizations that might be named or arise to stand for a certain object," said the Governor, "none could be found to have a more noble purpose or be so deserving of support than the Society of American Indians."

Somehow the big West came to a better understanding of the modern Indian's heart and purpose during the month of October. I heard Governor Ammons and other distinguished Coloradoans say some other things that made me think so, at least. Then, at a banquet given by the citizens of Denver to the Secretary of the Interior, I heard Secretary Lane exclaim, "I have heard many eloquent speeches in my life. The most eloquent of all were spoken by Indians. The address of Dr. Sherman Coolidge, who has just spoken to you, stands as a brilliant example of the logic, force and eloquence of an educated Indian of the best type. I know Sherman Coolidge, president of the Society of American Indians, and respect him."

And so, all during the week of the Third Annual Conference of the Society in Denver, the people of the West, represented by the citizens of Denver, grew to respect the modern red man. The conference was remarkable in the impression it made; it was remarkable for what it achieved during the short week of deliberation. The issue was a vital one; the men and women who came to discuss it were earnest, unselfish, devoted Americans. The issue concerned more than a billion dollars of property, more than ten millions of annual taxation, and concerned the salvation of one of the five great races of mankind, the aboriginal American.

The men and women who had devotedly, and perhaps blindly, followed the fortunes of the Society for three years, awakened to the great importance of the Society and its immense possibilities. For the first time many realized it. This realization was sobering

¹Originally prepared by the editor as "press copy" for syndicate purposes.

in its effect. The first three years of the organization's life were stormy ones. They had tested the integrity and sincerity of every member. Then, with the almost miraculously awakened realization, there came a sudden change. The conference was characterized throughout by remarkable unanimity. Every thought of personal gain, or preferment was blotted out. The honor of the race, the good of the greater number, the value of individual effort, then loomed large and everything else was subordinated.

There were many political, religious and philosophic factions represented, but each forgot the minor issue when the great purpose of the Society was realized. "I never realized until now, what this Society meant," said ex-Judge Hiram Chase, of Omaha, "I am now ashamed I have not been more active."

The main themes of the conference were, "What the Indian Can Do for Himself and His Country," "The Indian's Place in His Country," and "The Legal Status of the Indian." These subjects were ably discussed by Chauncey Yellow Robe, Simon Redbird, John M. Oskison, W. J. Kershaw, Hiram Chase, Henry Roe-Cloud, Oliver LaMere and others. Almost every address was a classic, almost every one was a vital discussion, characterized by logic and brilliance of style. The great value of our associate division dawned upon the Society when the sessions were thrown open to discussion by these loyal friends. There were stirring addresses by Mathew K. Sniffin, John Carl Parish, W. H. Henry, S. M. Brosius, Rev. George Watermulder, Caroline Andrus of Hampton, and by the father of the Society, Prof. F. A. McKenzie. The Society at this conference found itself organized and crystallized firmly enough to open the floor discussions to its entire membership. One thing was noticeable. No associate ever sought to sway the Society for any individual interest or opinion. The actives likewise saw that no difference of opinion should be debated as an issue — the great end was kept clearly in mind.

The city's reception to the conference convened on Tuesday evening, October 14, in the convention hall of the Hotel Albany. President J. M. Kykendall, of the Publicity League, presided. Governor Ammons left his busy office, where his time was engrossed in settling the great coal strike. He came "for a few minutes," but he stayed until the end of the long session. He became more and more interested and at length arose to make a second address. He left at ten o'clock a thoroughly converted Indian. Commissioner Thum, representing the city of Denver, also spoke enthusiastically. Re-

plies were made by President Sherman Coolidge, Henry Roe-Cloud, and W. J. Kershaw.

On Wednesday, the 15th, the Society took its annual excursion. The members went on a holiday trip up Lookout Mountain. There, in a most beautiful and wonderful spot, with 40,000 square miles of territory visible, with 200 lakes glistening like jewels on a purple velvet scarf, the members and guests viewed the peaks of the great Rocky Mountain range, and saw in the misty distance the borders of Kansas and Nebraska. Some of our Indian friends from the Kickapoo and Pottawatomie tribes had come in their old costumes; feathers, blankets and buckskins complete. This bit of the picturesque attracted the Pathé Moving Picture Company and many of our members have already seen a fragment of Wednesday's frolic in the Pathé Weekly film. It was sent all over the continent, and pictures the modern Indian American, in contrast to the old American Indian. The excursion had been preceded by a splendid conference address by Bishop F. J. McConnell, who spoke Wednesday morning in Trinity Church. It was a masterful sermon.

In the evening a joint session was held in the convention hall. It was at this session that Miss Andrus of Hampton told of the splendid struggle of forty-seven Indian pupils to work their way through Hampton Institute. Her address was an inspiration.

The conference began its real deliberations on Thursday, the 16th, when the topic, "What Indians Can Do for Themselves and for Their Country," was discussed by Charles H. Kelear, John Oskison, Miss Elvira Pike, and by our Associate Secretary, John Carl Parish. In the afternoon, the topic was continued with Stephen Jones, Simon Redbird, and Chauncey Y. Robe as principal speakers. A strong paper, written by Dennison Wheelock, was read by B. N. O. Walker. In the evening, the topic was, "The Legal Condition of Indians and Its Relation to Their Moral and Social Condition." The assigned speakers were Prof. McKenzie, J. Edward Shields, Oliver LaMere, Mathew K. Sniffin and Chas. E. Dagenett. A most eloquent address was made by Chief Henry Roman Nose, who at the end of his speech said he had read in a big book the solution of the whole Indian problem. "Maybe you don't believe me," he said, "maybe you can't understand me, but I will tell you how to solve it all." Then drawing himself up as he looked over the audience, he recited the "Sermon on the Mount." There was a sensation as the long-haired old Indian sat down, his finely chiseled, classic face as mobile as if he had spoken only the

most ordinary thing. Mr. W. J. Kershaw, a Menominee Indian and a leading attorney in Milwaukee, gave the concluding address. Other speakers were Roy W. Stabler, Henry Roe-Cloud and Stephen Jones.

It was at this session that the preliminary report of the Legal Aid Committee was read. A vast plan for better legal conditions was outlined by the Secretary who, with Professor McKenzie, is a joint member of this committee.

Conforming to its stated policy, the Society, on Friday, met at Denver University. Here the real value of the conference was drawn to a focus. Under the topic, "The Legal Status of the Indian," some astonishing information was given. Nearly all the members participated in this discussion, among them, Robt. Hamilton, Wolf Plume, James Green, Hiram Chase, Joe Pete, Joe Ignatius, S. L. Bonnin, L. Armel, Cleavor Warden, Regis Alien-toyah, J. E. Shields and others. At the close of the afternoon discussion the platform was read, discussed, and after an extended debate, adopted unanimously. This remarkable document comes as near to point out the real remedy to what I shall term the "Indian Complex," as any plan of action yet devised. It has been born after three years of travail, of bitter experience, and of educational developments. This platform is printed elsewhere in this JOURNAL. It will pay you to read it with care and understanding.

It will be noticed that small things are not considered in our platform; it is not a catalog of complaints, or a series of wailing resolutions. It is a high call to the great awakening on the part of both races. It is the certain call of a race just reaching its manhood in the new world of civilization into which it has been born. Every Indian who attended the Denver conference, and by voice or presence had a part in its making — had a part in a great historic change in the destiny of a great race. *Henceforth the Indian goes forward, the power is within him working outward.* External inducement will be less and less a necessity.

In the associate session Prof. F. A. McKenzie, of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, was re-elected chairman, and John Carl Parish, of Denver, secretary. The associate division will carry on an active campaign this year to interest the public in the measures adopted by the active body.

Both the active and associate members felt their loss in the absence of our former friends, General and Mrs. R. H. Pratt,

Dr. M. Freidman, John Converse, Dr. Moffett, Reverend Ketcham and others who were of so much service in the Columbus conferences.

General Pratt, Professor McKenzie, Mathew Sniffin, Dr. Chas. F. Meserve and Washington Gladden were elected honorary life members of the associate class.

The city of Denver had its greatest surprise, perhaps, in the great mass meeting of Friday night, October 17th. Before a large audience, in the immense convention auditorium, the officers and associates of the Society set forth the new message of the red man to the world. President Coolidge spoke first, and was immediately followed by Professor McKenzie, whose clear-cut, pointed address was electric in its effect. Henry Roe-Cloud spoke and was at his best; and then W. J. Kershaw spoke on the trail of the pioneer, the heroism of the early mothers, and pointed out the lesson in fortitude and perseverance to the Indian, with his new world to conquer. Rev. F. W. Henry concluded, speaking on the Pueblo Indians, whom he knows intimately. The speeches were interspersed by songs by Miss Winona Hall, a professional soloist, a Sioux part-blood, once a student of Haskell School; by classical music on the cornet by Martin D. Archiquette; and, lastly, by a series of Indian folk-songs by Tsianina Red Feather, a Creek girl, whose remarkable voice is hailed by musicians as a rare discovery. Miss Red Feather, who is a pupil of Wilcox and Cadman, the composers, has a great career before her, and a rarely wonderful voice to sustain her personal charm.

On Saturday morning, the business of the conference was discussed. Plans were made for stronger financial support. It was shown that two or three members of the Society had borne almost the total financial responsibility during the year. Immediate steps were taken to organize a finance committee. W. J. Kershaw was made chairman. The Society, it was shown, needs six thousand dollars for the 1914 budget. The immense good that can be done brought the will and the enthusiasm to make an endeavor to raise this amount, but everybody must help. Mr. W. J. Kershaw is chairman on finance. Indians must now see what they must do—contribute, support their own organization and rely more on the effectiveness of responding to a high duty, rather than demanding rights without thinking of assuming responsibility. Our white friends will help in this task if we manifest a strong desire to help ourselves.

The Secretary's report showed that the organization had assisted in the settlement of many thousand dollars' worth of claims for Indians, without charging a single penny; that 50,000 pieces of information had been mailed from the central office, besides nearly 12,000 personal letters sent out to correspondents; that the Society had members now even in Europe, Mexico, Canada and the Canal Zone, as well as in the United States. Certain it is, the best people of the world are looking toward the organization with respect and expectation. This wholesome respect can only be weakened by selfish individuals who seek prominent positions for personal motives, and who swing the name of the Society into questionable situations. These matters were carefully, diplomatically, but clearly, discussed.

The result of the conference ballot showed the election of the following officers: President, Sherman Coolidge; vice-president, W. J. Kershaw; second vice-president, Chas. E. Dagenett; third vice-president, Charles D. Carter; fourth vice-president, Emma D. Goulette. The secretary-treasurer was re-elected.

The conference can not be described in a few words. It was not a mere social function or a time of idle talk and weakly-drawn resolutions; it was a history-making event, and the men and women who attended will ever be the greater, the richer and broader for their service to the race.

There were certain minor changes made in the by-laws on Saturday, one of which makes it possible for the present secretary-treasurer to maintain a business office at his residence in Albany, New York. Mail will reach the Society there, without the necessity of a street designation.

Of greater moment was the authorization of the conference making it possible for the Legal Aid Committee to distribute broadcast over the country its "*Appeal to the Nation*," for the opening up of the Court of Claims to Indian tribes and bands having claims against the government. Only Indians of all men are now debarred from this court, without special act of Congress. This fact blocks all progress in removing tribal restrictions, and promotes more than anything else the endless routine of office work in the Indian Bureau. In five years' time all claims could be settled and the way cleared for real justice on the part of the nation and for higher service of the red man to the nation.

On Sunday, the churches of Denver were supplied with Indian speakers. The church-going public heard the message of the new

Indian-American and marveled at the change. On Sunday afternoon another auditorium meeting was held — this time of religious character — under Reverend Roe-Cloud and Stephen Jones. This session was again a pleasant surprise to the people of Denver and revealed the red man in a new light. It demonstrated the inherent capacity of the Indian for every walk of life.

The third conference owes much to the cordial welcome of Denver and to such men as J. M. Kykendall, Governor Ammons, Mayor Perkins, Harry F. Burhans, and not in the least to genial Sam F. Dutton, of the Albany Hotel, and the Society owes much to its new-found friends. Let us ever be friends, these two races. Let us forget races and unite our interests as brothers, friends. We have made a promising beginning; let the promise find its fulfillment in friendly relations, just and sympathetic. The Society is not in business, it has no profits to seek; no member or officer has a penny's financial interest. We are *giving* that all America may be richer.

America can not afford to ignore the results of the deliberations of this Society. Every right-hearted citizen ought to immediately reach for his pen and demand that his Congressman study, push, and labor for the passage of the Carter Code bill and the amended Stephens bill, submitting Indian tribal claims directly to the Federal Court of Claims. Every American should become an associate member of this most American of all Societies — this Society with so high and yet so definite a purpose. Every descendant of the Indian should lay hold of the great opportunity he now has to solve his own problem. The red man will then win new honor — will awaken within himself a new and higher manhood; he will find a new and higher calling among men. He will have what nothing less than response to duty can bring, an *increased self-respect*. Every member this year has this message to bear in mind, "*I must work for my race and for my Society as if the very existence of the Society and the saving of the race depended upon me. I must work — it is not right that others should do so for me.*"

Then, there will be the realization that the conference discovered that it has not been called merely to complain about bad things, but to build higher and better things in which the bad can not live — remembering, too, Doctor Gladden's message: "*It is not your primary concern to get your rights recognized! It is your primary concern to get a clear conception of your duties, of your high calling as a people.*"

The time has passed when the public can wait and say, "We will wait a while longer and see what you are doing." The fact is patent—*we are doing, we are working out the emancipation* of the Indian and for the betterment of the great nation. May *we* have your hand, as a friend?

The Platform of the Third National Conference of the Society of American Indians

The Society of American Indians, assembled in Third Annual Conference, in the city of Denver, reaffirms those principles of devotion to the race and to the nation which have been its guiding star from the beginning. With a membership of one thousand in equal representation of native and white Americans, the Society is increasingly impressed with the responsibility resting upon it. The anomalous situation in which the race finds itself and the serious evils which threaten its happiness, integrity and progress are such as to compel the following expression of our beliefs and wishes. We trust that Congress and the nation will consider seriously the requests we make and grant them in full measure. We appeal to the intelligence and to the conscience of the nation.

1. Of all the needs of the Indian one stands out as primary and fundamental. So long as the Indian has no definite or assured status in the nation; so long as the Indian does not know who he is and what his privileges and duties are, there can be no hope of substantial progress for our race. With one voice we declare that our first and chief request is that Congress shall provide the means for a careful and wise definition of Indian status through the prompt passage of the Carter Code Bill.

2. Our second request is based on the second great legislative need of our race. Many of our tribes have waited for many years for money owed them, as they believed, by the United States. Without a standing in court, our tribes have waited for years and decades for a determination and settlement of their claims through Congressional action, and the hope of justice has almost died within their hearts. They ought to know soon and once for all, what their claims are worth. We urge upon Congress the removal of a great source of injustice, a perpetual cause of bitterness, through the passage of the amended Stephens Bill, which will open the United States Court of Claims to all the tribes and bands of Indians in the nation.

3. Realizing that the failure of the Indian to keep pace with modern thought is due to the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the Indian schools, we demand the complete reorganization of the Indian school system. The school system should be provided with a head in a superintendent of education, of the broadest scholastic attainments. To his knowledge and special sympathy should be

joined the authority and power to improve and to standardize the system in its every part.

The failure thus far on the part of the government to provide schools for more than 6,000 Navajo and Papago children is only indicative of an educational situation which cannot be overlooked; and the California situation points out further needs for reform and assistance.

4. For reasons long evident and incontrovertible and in harmony with the policy of land allotments, we urge the prompt division in severalty upon the books of the nation of all funds held in trust by the United States for any and all Indian tribes. We further urge that these individual accounts be paid at as early a date as wisdom will allow. Annuities and doles foster pauperism and are a curse to any people that intends to develop independence and retain self respect as men.

5. In view of the unusual dangers threatening the ownership of the lands in case the courts shall shortly and finally affirm the citizenship of the Pueblo Indians, we urge that the United States accept the trusteeship of these lands, as requested by the Pueblos until such time as a better means shall be devised to prevent the loss or alienation of such lands. We reaffirm our belief that the Pueblo Indians are, and of right ought to continue to be, citizens of the United States.

6. We reiterate our belief that the data concerning Indians gathered by the United States Census Bureau are so essential to Indian progress that failure to complete the tabulation and publication would be a calamity to our race, as well as a great extravagance to the nation.

7. We recommend more adequate sanitary inspection of Indian communities, and urge that the Federal inspectors secure the co-operation of local authorities in the enforcement of the health law. Definite steps must at once be taken to educate and impress Indian communities with the vital relation between sanitation and health. A sick race cannot be an efficient race.

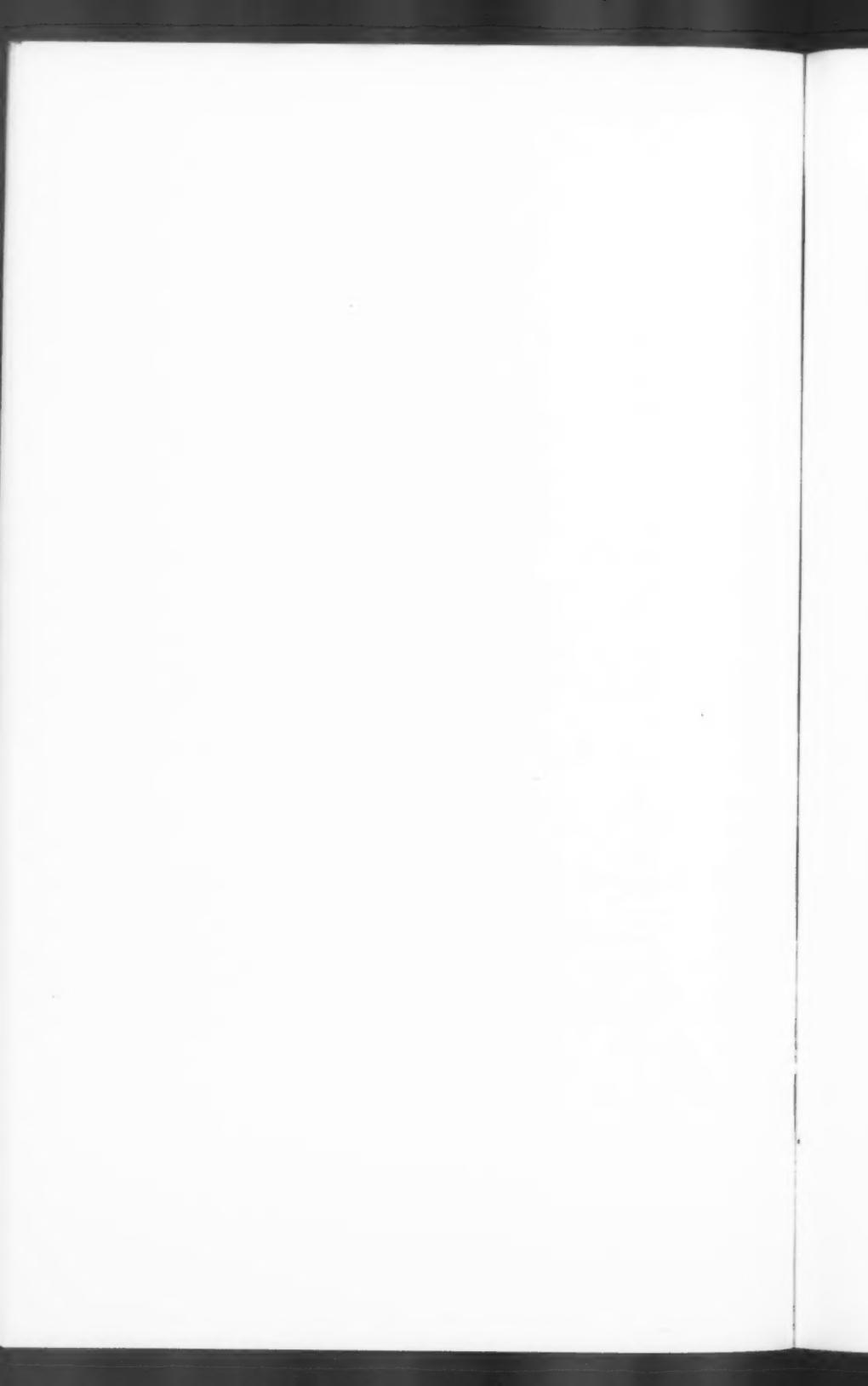
8. Much more of importance might be said, but we are constrained to make one final statement. We realize that hand in hand with the demand of our rights must go an unwavering desire to take on new responsibility. We call upon our own people to lay hold of the duties that lie before them, to serve not only their own race as the conditions of the day demand, but to serve all mankind.

Our final appeal in submitting this, our third annual platform, is to our own race. We have no higher end than to see it reach out towards a place where it will become an active, positive, constructive factor, in the life of the great nation. We call upon every man and woman of Indian blood to give of himself to the uttermost, that his people may live in a higher sense than ever before, and regain in that same sense, a normal place in this country of free men.



MATTHEW K. SNIFFIN

Secretary of the Indian Rights Association. Mr. Sniffin has been a hard working associate member since the formation of our Society. The Third Conference elected him an honorary member.



Register of the Denver Conference of the Society of American Indians

Arapahoe.....	Sherman Coolidge*†.....	Faribault, Minn.
Pottawatomie.....	Jos. Mack Ignatius.....	Mayetta, Kas.
Pottawatomie.....	Joe Smith.....	Mayetta, Kas.
Pottawatomie.....	Frank Keesis.....	Mayetta, Kas.
Kickapoo.....	Joe Pete.....	Netawaka, Kas.
Pottawatomie.....	Mrs. Joe Pete.....	Netawaka, Kas.
Ute.....	Miss Elvira Pike.....	Netawaka, Kas.
Sioux.....	Bertie Brown Williams.....	Brown Valley, Minn.
Arapahoe.....	J. E. Shields*.....	Watonga, Okla.
Sioux.....	Chas. H. Kelear†.....	Arapahoe, Wyo.
Sioux.....	L. S. Bonnin.....	Darlington, Okla.
Associate.....	M. K. Sniffen*.....	Philadelphia, Penna. (Drexel Bldg.)
Wyandott.....	A. V. Crotzer.....	Darlington, Okla.
Sioux.....	M. B. Crotzer.....	Darlington, Okla.
Seneca.....	James J. Green.....	Shiprock, N. Mex.
Omaha.....	Geo. Stabler.....	Macy, Nebr.
Cheyenne.....	Henry Roman Nose.....	Bickford, Okla.
Eastern Shoshone.....	Minnie L. Prophet.....	Wind River, Wyoming.
Seneca.....	Arthur C. Parker*†.....	Albany, New York.
Oneida.....	Leah B. Somers.....	West De Pere, Wisc.
Winnebago.....	Oliver Lamere*†.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
Pottawatomie.....	Edward Travis.....	Mayetta, Kas.
Ottawa.....	Simon Redbird.....	Ind. School, Genoa, Neb.
Sioux.....	Henry Horse Looking.....	St. Francis, So. Dak.
Associate.....	Nora F. Seegar*†.....	Columbus, O.
Menominee.....	W. J. Kershaw.....	Milwaukee, Wis.
Associate.....	Mrs. Henrietta Kershaw.....	Milwaukee, Wis.
Sioux.....	Henry Standing Bear*.....	Pine Ridge, S. Dak.
Associate.....	Paul I. Hamlin.....	224 S. Logan St., Denver, Col.
Peoria.....	Chas. E. Dagenett*†.....	The Congressional, Washington, D. C.
Winnebago.....	Levi St. Cyr.....	Emerson, Nebr.
Winnebago.....	Albert Hensley*.....	Thurston, Nebr.
Seneca.....	Evelyn R. Twoguns.....	Canandaigua, N. Y. (Stroud, Okla.)
Osage.....	Edna La Batte.....	Pawhuska, Okla.
Osage.....	Dora Little Bear.....	Pawhuska, Okla.
Caddo.....	Harrison B. Parton.....	Ft. Logan, Col.
Omaha.....	Eunice V. Woodhull Stabler.....	Macy, Nebr.
Omaha.....	Rachel Sheridan.....	Macy, Nebr.
Associate.....	Fayette A. McKenzie*†.....	Columbus, O.
Associate.....	G. W. Watermulder.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
Apache.....	Regis Aleintoyah.....	Fort Sill, Okla.
Associate.....	F. A. Gross.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
Kickapoo.....	Mabel Saquat.....	Netawaka, Kas.
Alaskan.....	Vasha N. Stutsman.....	Denver, Colo.
Associate.....	Miss Caroline W. Andrus*†.....	Hampton, Va.
Arapahoe.....	Miss Emma M. McFarland.....	Apache, Okla.
Sioux.....	Peter Shields, Jr.....	Pine Ridge, S. D.
Omaha.....	Chauncey Yellow Robe.....	Rapid City, S. D.
Winnebago.....	Hiram Chase*.....	Pender, Nebr.
Blackfeet.....	Henry Roe-Cloud*†.....	Colony, Okla.
Piegans.....	Robt. J. Hamilton.....	Browning, Nebr.
Winnebago.....	Wolf Plume.....	Browning, Nebr.
Winnebago.....	Joseph Brown.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
Winnebago.....	Clarence Fisher.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
	Alexia Durant.....	Boston, Mass.

* Attended first conference.

† Attended second conference.

Associate.....	Bishop Theodore P. Thurston	Muskogee, Okla.
Associate.....	Dr. Katharine Westendorf..	Denver, Colo.
Associate.....	Maud Woy.....	Denver, Colo.
Associate.....	John Carl Parish.....	Denver, Colo.
Pueblo.....	Albino Chavarria.....	Santa Clara, N. M.
Cherokee.....	John W. Chandler.....	Wyandotte, Okla.
Wyandotte.....	B. N. O. Walker.....	Wyandotte, Okla.
Miami.....	Mrs. Esther M. Dagenett*	Albuquerque, N. M.
Zuni.....	Tom Wakill Idiaque.....	Rocky Ford, Colo.
Sioux (Claimant)	Mrs. Alice Miller.....	Denver, Colo.
Oneida.....	Martin D. Archiquette.....	Albuquerque, N. M.
Pottawatomie.....	Flora M. Archiquette.....	Rocky Ford, Colo.
Cherokee.....	John M. Oskison*†.....	New York City. (Care of Collier's.)
Arapahoe.....	Cleaver Warden.....	Carlton, Okla.
Omaha.....	Roy D. Stabler.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
Winnebago.....	Lewis Armell.....	Winnebago, Nebr.
Sioux.....	Stephen S. Jones†.....	Santee, Nebr.
Cherokee.....	Jas. Arthur Williams.....	Tulsa, Okla.
Associate.....	H. H. Carter.....	Kansas City, Mo.
Mission.....	Charles T. Coleman.....	Gallup, New Mexico.
Oneida.....	John Powless.....	Manderson, S. Dak.
Creek.....	Miss Tsianina Redfeather.....	Denver, Colo.
Alaskan.....	Edward Stutsman, Jr.....	Aleutian Islands, Alas.
Chippewa.....	Miss Stella May Tolley, Jr.....	Minnesota.
Associate.....	Mrs. Chauncey Yellow Robe.....	Rapid City, S. D.
Sioux.....	Miss Rosebud Yellow Robe, Jr.....	Rapid City, S. D.
Omaha.....	Miss Ethel M. Chase.....	Pender, Neb.
Chippewa.....	Jasper Jerome.....	Denver, Colo.
Sioux.....	Miss Winona Hall.....	South Dakota.
Arapahoe.....	Sally Coolidge, Jr.....	Faribault, Minn.
Associate.....	Samuel Brosius.....	Washington, D. C.

* Attended first conference.

† Attended second conference.



An Historical Review of the Indian Situation

A Summary of the Lake Mohonk Conference Address

By WARREN K. MOOREHEAD

VERY few persons in this country are familiar with Indian history. It is because of ignorance regarding the Indian and on account of disinclination to heed the lessons of history that we have with us the Indian problem to-day in all its complications.

The property of the Indians of the United States is rising \$1,000,000,000 in value at the present time. As the Indian communities settle up, values increase rather than diminish. There is \$48,000,000 in the United States treasury to the credit of the American Indians. These enormous lands and cash values serve as baits to attract an army of grafters, shyster lawyers and schemers.

I call your attention to previous investigations which have been

reported to the conference from time to time, to the work of the Indian Rights Association, and that of the best man in the Indian Service, Inspector E. B. Linnen; also, to the reports of missionaries, business men and scientists, the past twenty years. All this data, properly assembled and digested, means but one thing: that no matter how honest a man we have as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or how capable and competent the heads of departments in the Indian Office, we can not save the Indian as a race under our present scheme of management. We benefit individuals, but we are producing unnumbered paupers and diseased Indians.

Under our form of government we are not fit to handle a dependent people, since we change our officials every few years. For, instance, we have had four Commissioners of Indian Affairs in six years. This is not conducive to efficiency. I do not criticize the personnel of the Indian Service, or the efforts of those thousands of hard-working men and women who are endeavoring to uplift the Indian. We have concentrated on citizenship for the Indian and have handed him a paper citizenship which in most cases is of little or no value. Roughly stated, the Indian is a citizen in name only, and he has neither the rights nor the protection afforded white citizens. Nowhere in the United States are communities of white citizens defrauded out of their property. The Indian citizenship must be made effective and real, the laws enforced. Otherwise we will have unnumbered paupers to support.

For more than two generations we have had Commissioners of Indian Affairs at Washington, and in spite of their best efforts the same problem confronts us to-day. The only salvation of the Indian lies in a total change of policy; the abolition of the Commissionership of Indian Affairs, the appointment of a commission of nine men—the best obtainable men in the United States, and men who understand Indians, and no political appointees. This commission should be appointed for at least ten years and, if possible, fifteen. It should publish its findings every three months, and all its hearings should be public. It should have in its charge every Indian person and all cash belonging to Indians or tribes, farm lands, mines, oil wells and other properties. The rulings of this commission should be absolute and final. It should eliminate all educated and competent Indians, making of them citizens.

It is clear that because of the interference of interested persons through Congress, and otherwise, it is utterly impossible for one man to manage successfully the intricate problems connected with Indian welfare in this country.

Education Among the Five Civilized Tribes

An Extract from the Mohonk Conference Address

By J. B. BROWN, U. S. Supervisor of Education

WE HEAR the insistent demand for closing out the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes. Congressional acts for some years contained the proviso that at least certain offices should be abolished, and three years since the department seriously contemplated turning all educational work over to the State as a matter in which the general government was no longer concerned.

The demand to be released from government supervision, by a very large proportion of the enrolled members of the Five Tribes, is a just demand. Their money is being used for school and other purposes against their wishes, and that held in trust draws a rate of interest which could be doubled in Oklahoma. They are as competent to manage their business as we are, or if not, are willing to take the responsibility and pay the price if they fail. They will not become a charge against the government, so let them be free, even though we must be a little crude in arriving at the amount due them.

I would pay every competent member every cent due him, estimating his share in the mineral wealth of the tribe, even though we can not do it with mathematical exactness. We hear too much about things which need to be done, but which can not be done. We are too slow and too timid.

I have been speaking of the competent members of the several Nations, but am thinking at the same time of the restricted members with whom the work of government officials properly is concerned. Our schools must now be opened on equal terms to all children of enrolled Indians. The ones who need the schools most are the restricted members — the full-bloods — yet these are the last to request the enrollment of their children of their own initiative. Remove the pressure, for places in our Indian schools, by eliminating the competents and we get at our real educational problem. We get to the boys and girls who need us. Help us, you Congressmen, you makers of Congressmen, you moulders of public opinion, to solve this problem and to secure the legislation that will not merely put the competent Indian in possession of his property, but will put the now incompetent Indian in possession of his manhood.

The restricted Indians need the schools more than any other form of government aid. Oklahoma needs them more than she needs postoffice buildings or battleships named in her honor. One public building would support all these schools a year, and one battleship would support them forever.



Settlement of Choctaw Tribal Affairs

A Summary of the Mohonk Conference Address

By P. J. HURLEY,

National Attorney for the Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma

APPROXIMATELY 101,000 persons have received allotments of land as citizens of the Five Civilized Tribes, and approximately one-third of this number are now restricted; that is to say, their allotments are inalienable. The tribal estates of the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole Nations have been almost entirely disposed of and the final settlement of the estates of these three nations is not far distant. The same is not true of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. Each citizen of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations has received an allotment, and after allotment there was a residue of tribal property remaining. This residue consists of what is known as the segregated coal and asphalt land, the timber reserve and the unallotted land. The title to this property is still held by the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and the property so held, at the lowest estimation, is valued at \$35,000,000. More than \$10,000,000 worth of unallotted land belonging to the two tribes has been sold by the United States government and the money received therefor is now held in trust by the government for the Indians.

In 1902, Congress enacted a law which was ratified by the Choctaw and Chickasaw people, also in 1902. The agreement provided that when the rolls of citizenship and the allotment had been completed, the residue of the tribal estate should be sold and the funds distributed *per capita* among the Indians. A specific clause provided that the segregated coal and asphalt land should be sold

within two years. The United States has not complied with the terms of this agreement and has not sold the tribal estate and distributed the proceeds among the Indians, though. Many years have elapsed since the Indians were given their allotment and since the rolls of citizenship were completed by the government, yet the terms of the treaty providing for the sale of the residue of the tribal estate and the distribution of the funds arising from the sale among the Indians, have not been complied with by the United States government. The Indians, individually, in tribal meetings, and through their tribal governments, have year after year petitioned the United States government to comply with the terms of the agreement, but all without avail.

The Indians have been dissatisfied on account of the dilatory manner in which the government has handled the settlement of their estate. This dissatisfaction is largely the cause for the execution of the so-called "McMurray individual contracts" of 1908. They are alleged to have been made with more than three-fourths of the individual Indians of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. These contracts provided, among other things, that Mr. McMurray and his associates were to receive 10 per cent. of all the money received from the sale of tribal property. The residue of the tribal estate is valued, at the lowest estimation, at \$35,000,000. For this fee, Mr. McMurray and his associates were to expedite the sale of the tribal property. Persons interested in the affairs of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations believed it improper to pay Mr. McMurray or any one else this enormous fee for doing that which the United States government is bound by treaty obligations to do without cost to the Indians. During the present session of Congress, after an exhaustive hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States Senate, these contracts were surrendered by Mr. McMurray in so far as they affected the tribal property. Congress then enacted a law prohibiting the making of other contracts affecting the tribal estate without the consent of the United States. The tribal property of these two tribes is now free of any lien or encumbrance of whatsoever nature, by reason of the contracts executed by individuals.

There is no desire among the Indians to retain any part of this estate. They desire that the entire estate be sold and the money distributed per capita among them. The sale of this property and the distribution of funds would be conducive to the best interests of the Indian. It would give the older Indians who were parties to

the treaty an opportunity to enjoy their property before their death, and it would give the industrious Indians funds with which to improve their allotments. The portion of the funds belonging to incompetent Indians could be invested for the improvement of their allotments, under the direction of the Department of the Interior. The dependent and incompetent Indians would become more self-reliant after this fund had been distributed. The sale of this property would be highly beneficial to the general citizenship of the State of Oklahoma, as well as the Indians. And it would be a performance, though a tardy one, by the United States government of the treaty obligations that it has assumed. Every incompetent Indian should be surrounded by conditions that would compel him to retain and develop his allotment. Any protection which goes further than this is an injury to the individual.

In some instances, the restrictions upon the alienation of all or a portion of the allotment of incompetent Indians who are in destitute circumstances, or sick, are removed by the Secretary of the Interior, the land sold and proceeds derived therefrom are given to the allottee by the department in instalments.

There is more than \$10,000,000 in cash belonging to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians now under the control of the United States government for the use of the Indians. Why is not this portion of these funds belonging to incompetent and destitute Indians used to care for them and improve their allotments, instead of selling their allotments and using the funds derived from the sale? The answer is, that no payment of tribal moneys can be made to the Indians without authority from Congress. To give the reason why Congress has not authorized a distribution of tribal funds is necessary to consider the enrollment question.

In 1896 the United States government took upon itself the duty of making the rolls of citizenship of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. It continued this work for eleven years. The rolls of citizenship of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations were finally closed on March 4, 1907. All persons who claimed right to citizenship in these nations were invited to make application for enrollment. Thousands of applications were made by persons residing in different parts of the United States, and especially by persons residing in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas. All applications were litigated and finally adjudicated. After adjudication the rolls were finally closed, both in conformity to the treaty agreement with the Indians, and by the operation of the act of

Congress. The great delay on the part of the United States government in beginning the sale of the residue of the tribal estate and the distribution of the funds, caused all the unsuccessful applicants for enrollment to believe that as long as there was tribal property remaining there was still hope for them to secure citizenship in the tribes. These applicants employed attorneys to re-submit their claims for citizenship, and at the present time, according to the statements made by the attorneys for claimants who have appeared before the Committees on Indian Affairs of Congress, there are probably not less than 50,000 persons throughout the United States who have employed attorneys to present their claims, for fees ranging generally from 25 to 50 per cent. of the amount the claimant would obtain by reason of citizenship. Citizenship in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations is considered to be worth from \$5,000 to \$8,000. If the rolls could be re-opened and any considerable number of these claimants enrolled, it would mean a great amount of money in fees for those who hold contracts. This prospect of great fees induced men who have capital to furnish their money and influence in an effort to have the rolls re-opened. I am advised, and believe, that some of the attorneys have capitalized these citizenship contracts; that is to say, they have pledged their contracts for money with which to maintain representation before the committees of Congress to continuously urge the re-opening of the rolls—the persons who furnish the money, of course, to share in the fees in case the claimants are successful. Those engaged in an effort to re-open the rolls appear to be well organized and provided with means to make a strong and persistent fight. Up to this time we have successfully opposed all efforts to have the rolls re-opened. On the other hand, the attorneys for the claimants have successfully opposed all of our efforts to have Congress enact a law authorizing a distribution of the funds arising from the sale of the tribal estate.

To re-open the rolls would be an injustice to the enrolled citizens of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and would be a violation of the agreement between the government of the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. The Congress of the United States can effectually eliminate the enrollment question by authorizing the Department of the Interior to sell the remainder of the tribal estate and to distribute all funds per capita among the citizens of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. The Indians are entitled to this action under the terms of the treaty.

Extracts From Mohonk Conference Addresses

On the Philippines and Porto Rico

"I am a believer in men as men. I repudiate the idea that certain peoples are essentially inferior, they are undeveloped; or that certain peoples are the heaven-constituted guardians of others for all time. In the main, peoples, like individuals, learn by doing; this holds true in the most difficult art of self-government as in all other realms of action."

BISHOP W. F. OLDHAM, M. E. Bishop of Southern Asia.



"America has the opportunity of ages. She can, if she pursues a course consonant with the demands of the situation stand by the birth of a nation worthy of a permanent place in the family of Christian nations. Her effort is not to rid herself of a difficulty, but to rise to an opportunity and to render a service. It is not so much to reproduce among an alien people her institutions, as to create a character that will be able to express in Philippine life and institutions the principles of democracy. The political system developed, secularized education, material progress, carry with them dangers which can be met only by deepened religious life."

Right Rev. CHARLES H. BRENT,
P. E. Bishop of the Philippines since 1901.



"The opposition to Philippine independence is based on faith in official and other representations and reports; on blind devotion to party creed and prestige; on religious and humanitarian motives and an out-and-out imperialism. An examination in the light of twelve years' experience with the Filipinos in a non-official capacity, reveals self-interest or ignorance in all of these motives.

"Imposition of American sovereignty by force of arms was a grievous mistake. The policy of the last fifteen years has been a corollary of that blunder. The question of our occupancy is not an academic one, but a vital one of right and wrong. The academic question is, What constitutes ability for self-government for an

alien people? Are Occidentals competent to select and impose forms of government on Orientals? Self-government can not be learned except in the school of experience.

"The only solution of the problem is the application of right principles. American people are not correctly informed as to Filipino character, industrial and political capability, and as to their determined opposition to American rule. Americans in the islands are all, more or less, dependent on the government, and information from them is controlled by a censorship of subservience and fear. Public opinion, as we know it, does not exist in the Philippines. When dealing with conditions with which it is familiar the American public in the end generally decided political matters fairly, but it can not act intelligently concerning a foreign people, with which it is unfamiliar, guided only by reports which come from a limited number of persons, and which are a medley of inconsistencies."

JOHN R. McDILL, M. D., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
Professor of Surgery in the University of the Philippines 1899-1912.



"There is a vast difference between the political independence of a people and the liberty or freedom of the individuals constituting that people. However desirable political independence may seem to a people or to others with a friendly interest in that people, freedom is a far more fundamental, a far more important thing, for history reveals to us many people possessing political independence, while the individuals possess little or none of that liberty which to us makes political independence worth while. In fact, there have been governments, even republican in form, or governments allowing municipal or group freedom, in which the liberty of the individual was but slightly developed. I wish to discuss what one phase of the Filipino government is doing to give the Filipino people that freedom without which political independence will amount to naught. Freedom in this sense consists of the development of that personal intelligence, force and initiative among a people which render them free from the restrictive power of custom, of class organization, of ignorance, of superstition, of economic dependence, of unsanitary environment, of unsuitable and unjust conditions concerning the rights of private property, without which, no matter what may be the form of political organization under which he lives, political liberty or independence is merely a name.

"The school system of the Philippines is giving to the Philippine people freedom, and while political independence may come by legislation, freedom can come by education and by no other way."

DR. PAUL S. MONROE,

Professor of History of Education, Teachers' College, New York.



Problems in Porto Rico

"In telling you to-day of the problems which awaited us upon our occupation of Porto Rico, I place, first of all, for it covers all, the problem of the mingling, blending and amalgamating of the two streams of civilization, which are flowing there side by side. The Porto Rican type is distinctly Spanish. It has inherited its traditions, history, language and ethics from sources alien and strange to us. There is very much in the Spanish that is excellent and worthy of preservation. Our problem has not been to destroy nor to substitute, but to preserve whatever was excellent and of good report in the life of these people as we found them, while bringing to them as much as they were able to receive of that which we love and cherish in our own.

"The race problem exists in Porto Rico, but it is not acute and seems to give no present ground for anxiety.

"How were we to inculcate loyalty to the new flag without causing ourselves to become too unpopular by disregard of these associations and sentiments which would naturally cluster round the former standard? In the most common-sense fashion, that is, first, by never emphasizing nor accentuating racial differences. Secondly, by instilling patriotism as we understand it, in the public schools. And this made free, universal education even more necessary than it would have otherwise been. I know that is hardly conceivable among a people who were said to be eighty per cent. illiterate at the time of our arrival. But, be that as it may, there must be a reasonable amount of education among any people which seeks the precious gift of American citizenship.

"The Porto Ricans ardently desire citizenship. My own feeling has been, and is to-day, that this boon, under wise and proper safeguards, ought to be granted them; and along with the privileges there should go the duties of citizenship. With an increasing share in the responsibilities of government there must go an increasing sense of duty for the support of the government. And it is my firm

conviction that, if we treat the citizens of Porto Rico with the same confidence that we bestow upon the citizens of New York or Ohio or Idaho, they will more and more rise to the measure of loyalty and independence, self-government and obedience, which we require in all parts of our great commonwealth."

Right Reverend JAMES H. VAN BUREN,
Former P. E. Bishop of Porto Rico.



Partial Platform of Lake Mohonk Conference

The thirty-first annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples makes the following recommendations:

INDIANS

1. That a vigorous campaign be waged against tuberculosis, trachoma and other diseases among the Indians, by the provision of medical supervision and care.

2. That the campaign against the liquor traffic be effectively carried on; and we note with pleasure the increase of appropriations in Congress for this purpose.

3. That the suggestion made at this conference which is reported as advanced by the Secretary of the Interior, that all Indian affairs, including care of property valued at nearly a billion dollars, should be placed under the entire control of a national non-partisan commission to serve during long terms or during good behavior, is worthy of serious consideration.

4. For the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma we favor ample Congressional appropriations to secure:

(a) A vigorous educational policy, including care of individual health and preparation for self-support.

(b) The payment to all competent Indians of their equitable share in all tribal property, and the final closing of the door against the horde of applicants who are seeking a share in this distribution.

(c) Continued protection to uneducated full-bloods and others in the restricted class by State and National legislation.

(d) Aid given by the Federal government to supplement the effort of the State of Oklahoma in probate matters to protect the estates of helpless Indian children.

(e) Prevention of further removal of restriction from the sale of Indian holdings except in individual cases approved by the Department of the Interior.

(f) The modification of the present law which allows restricted Indians to lease not only their additional lands, but their homesteads, which in a multitude of cases has led to the loss of their home and a life of vagrancy and beggary.

5. Vigilance should be exercised to prevent ill-advised action concerning the lands of the Navajos who have signally prospered, that their right to allotment on the public domain may be carefully safeguarded. Their own lands should be classified and units established suited to conditions of agriculture, grazing and irrigation. In view of the demand of white settlers in Arizona and New Mexico, it is imperative that definite steps be taken immediately to settle the status of the Navajo Indians in their lands.

6. The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico need special protection from the government in the settlement of questions affecting title to their lands. We favor the acceptance by the United States from these Indians of their proffered trusteeship, in the even that it is finally decided that they are citizens, with a view to their better education for the duties of citizenship and allotment of their lands.

7. We recommend continued attention to the Indians of New York and their reservations, to the end that as soon as possible, with entire justice to the Indian the reservations may be abolished and the Indians admitted to full citizenship.

PHILIPPINES

For the Philippine Islands we recommend:

8. That the system of public schools, which now embraces scarce a half of the school population, be speedily extended everywhere.

9. That no date be set for withdrawal of our supervision over the Islands, and no decision be made as to the ultimate form of complete self-government until, through general education and familiarity with the principles of American liberty, the people shall be fitted to decide wisely for themselves.

10. That special attention be given to the education of the wild tribes and the Moros in civilization and morals, that they may become competent to take their part in the decision as to their political future.

PORTO RICO

For Porto Rico we recommend:

11. The maintenance of our present policy of supervision and control, with an increasing responsibility for self-government placed on the people, looking toward some form of complete self-government under the American flag.
12. The granting of full American citizenship to the people of Porto Rico.

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Other Extracts from Platform

The great principle that has for thirty years controlled the action of these conferences is, that humanity is one; that no one race or rank of culture has the right to look with contempt on another as inferior and therefore unworthy to be given equal opportunities to reach its highest limit of training in the arts of civilization, and to share with the best of us the rights of self-government. * * *

Our work for the American Indian is not yet completed. To be sure, the great principles have been established. It is the policy of the government to break up the tribal system, to give the Indian land in severalty, to protect him in the possession of his holdings until he can be so far incorporated into the community about him that he can be trusted with their entire control. There are those who would take advantage of his ignorance to rob him. We particularly oppose and condemn National or State legislation which would hastily remove protection given by the laws, and make it easier to separate the Indian from his land and livelihood.

A much larger problem and responsibility rests upon us in the Philippine Islands. Our duty to the millions of those islands is to fit them for self-government, and to pass it over to them just as soon as possible. Whether that self-government shall ultimately take the form of statehood, like that of our states, or of a dominion under our flag like that of Canada under Great Britain, or of absolute independence, it would be futile now to determine. Equally it is impossible now to settle the time when this desired result shall be reached. * * * We venture to hope that the action of President Wilson, in placing the upper house of their legislature in control of Filipinos, will be found by its practical results to have been wise, and that an occasion for its revocation may not arise.

The Open Forum

Neither the Society nor the QUARTERLY JOURNAL is responsible for opinions expressed by contributors or letter writers. We simply act as the clearing house of the burning thoughts that press for utterance in the minds of men whose purpose appears sincere.



The Indian Board of Co-operation in California

To the Society of American Indians, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR FRIENDS.—The Indian Board of Co-operation consists of such representative men as Chancellor David Starr Jordan; Edward Hyatt, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Dr. William Horace Day, of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles; Henry McCoy, general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association; Rev. Carl Warner, of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Palo Alto; C. R. Fisher, the State Sunday school secretary; Mrs. Dorcas J. Spencer, national superintendent of W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Warren Olney, State Y. W. C. A. chairman; Dr. John Willis Baer, of Occidental College; S. S. Seward, Jr., of Stanford University; with Dr. and Mrs. G. R. Alden on the advisory board, and Frank Naylor, of the First National Bank of Berkley, as treasurer, and Rev. F. G. Collett and Rev. (Mrs.) Beryl Bishop Collett as its field secretaries. The Board is undertaking, for the Indian people, not only a work of general uplift and help, and are especially emphasizing that feature which has not been taken up by any before, that of obtaining school privileges for all Indian children.

In earlier days the contact of white settlers with Indians has brought riches in land and privileges to the white race; poverty, distress and helplessness to the Indian. Much has already been done to improve these conditions; much remains to do. What is now needed is intelligent public interest.

THE SITUATION. The Indian population in the State is about stationary, 20,000 in all, distributed through the various counties. Less than one-quarter live on reservations, the rest in scattered bands. Many of these have already been given secure homes, and others are being provided for. The next step in the rehabilitation of the Indians is to meet their educational needs.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS. The total number of Indians of school age is about 4,000. For a small proportion of these provision is made in a limited number of boarding and day schools under the auspices of the Federal government. The rest depend upon district schools in the various counties, but in a large majority of cases their wants are not supplied, about 2,500 children having no educational opportunities whatsoever.

Major McLaughlin, who for forty-two years has been in the United States Indian service, and who has drawn up nearly every treaty made with the Indians, on his recent trip of the coast with the Rodman Wanamaker expedition, emphasized the fact that the policy of the government in subjecting the Indians to reservation life, is undergoing an entire change in this dawning era of independence for the Indian race, and said that even the government boarding school is no longer the highest means of development for Indian young people.

The result of educating the child away from the parent has proven in many cases most deplorable, leading almost inevitably to one of two things, the absolute separation of the educated from their own race or their slipping back after a time, if not literally into the blanket, at least metaphorically so. This must result from any system of education which singles out the few for growth and development and leaves the home environment untouched. The only true solution of the problem is the natural and normal method, the establishment of the district school upon the rancheria with a teacher in vital and sympathetic interest with the Indian people, one who can win their confidence and prove a working point of contact with the outside civilized world. Thus will parent and child obtain together the necessary development and growth which will bind them in one common interest.

THE SOLUTION of the problem is simple—to make available the funds already provided by law. The State and county will pay \$550 per teacher and from \$10 to \$25 in addition per pupil, based on daily attendance, regardless of race. The Federal government is willing to supplement this amount by the addition of \$9 per quarter for each Indian of school age whose parents are not taxpayers. The combined sum is in most cases ample for the building and maintenance of the schools that are needed.

THE OBSTACLES that must be met arise from the indifference and lack of information of school boards and the general public. Race

prejudice shuts out many Indian children from attending school where white children are taught. Apathy or hostility results in a failure to supply school privileges for which ample provision is made by the law. Where proper pressure has been brought, as in Colusa and Mendocino counties, schools have already been provided, and by these as test cases the validity of our law has been established. This makes clear, then,

THE PRESENT NEED: INITIATIVE. Public opinion, and through that the responsibility of county officers, must be aroused to supply the school privileges that are needed. It is estimated that there are about 200 localities where Indians are not receiving the opportunities they should have.

Each new school district is entitled to a sum of \$800 to \$1,000 annually from county, State and Federal sources. Since the Indians themselves are powerless, and the school authorities are not aroused to a sense of their responsibility, the Indian Board of Co-operation has taken upon itself, as a friend of the Indians, a campaign in their interest, so as to make available for them the educational facilities that the laws have provided.

THE PLAN, then, is to present the claim of the Indians for schools to the communities and the school boards whose duty it is to provide them. This is being done through the officers of our association, especially through the two field secretaries, Rev. F. G. and Mrs. Collett, whose knowledge of the situation and whose experience in the work already accomplished in Colusa and other counties eminently fits them for the task.

In addition to the establishment of schools, they are aiding the Indians in meeting their individual problems, such as providing for the old, helping industrially, and often by legal adjustments.

They are also organizing Sunday schools wherever possible, conducting religious services and assisting in founding or strengthening agencies of any sort that contribute to the moral and spiritual uplift of the Indian people. In no sense, however, is the work sectarian.

Yours cordially,

F. G. AND MRS. COLLETT,

Field Secretaries.

Mount Hermon, Cal.

*The Indian's Duty**November 18, 1913.*

TO THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

MY DEAR SECRETARY.—In reading all the material you have sent me I am struck with the tendency on the part of many of the contributors to constantly decry the "white man." To an Indian that may seem proper, but I believe it a grievous error. If the Indian is to secure anything it must be by co-operating with the "white man," and it cannot be accomplished by dwelling upon past wrongs—actual or fancied. Nor can a race progress that lives in the past; the future is what must be striven for. Forget the past, and look to the future. I believe your Society is on the right track, and feel sure it will accomplish much to change conditions; but it demands publicity. The QUARTERLY is an excellent medium for general results, but to accomplish anything of great moment, and speedily, a bureau of publicity and lecture system should be resorted to. You have a number of brainy Indians who could arrange for lectures upon *what* you are striving for. It would not alone be an educator, but add to funds for carrying on the work. You would carry the movement *to* the white man, and enlist sympathy and co-operation. Then, this could be utilized in the QUARTERLY to let the Indian brother know what is being done at large, and add to his encouragement.

I know the Indian to be a silent, proud man, but that must be overcome to the extent I suggest. Contact with the white man will produce mutual understanding and enlarge the opportunity of your Society. It would be an easy matter to enlist ministers and churches of the Protestant faith, and, through them, the home missionary societies. A propaganda along this line would sweep from coast to coast. The press would help it along.

The first thing the Indian should strive for is citizenship, and the franchise of voting. Claims against the government are really secondary to that. First secure a status, and then work for adjustment of grievances. Many evils would be corrected if the Indian was on a political basis, without being affiliated with any party of politicians. This is the procedure your man of affairs should consider, and *now*.

Bear in mind, I am discussing this from a broad standpoint, and not to find fault with what you are really doing. I have made some study of the subject, and can see a practical way of reaching it.

Reading the reports of the Indian Rights Association convinced me that the money paid out in salaries and traveling expenses, etc., of officers, could be better utilized to pay for lecturers to get at the masses. The sums of money coming from lists of wealthy patrons and subscribers should go to benefit the race as a whole, not individual cases. I do not say it exists in this particular case, but the Indian has been made a means of collecting large sums of money (as in foreign missions), but the cause, as a whole, is never benefited; but the stream of contributions continue. For this reason, the Society of American Indians can best advance the interests of the Indian. But don't become antagonistic to your white brother, nor rail against the government. There is no denying you have cause, but it can be laid to the representatives of the government, rather than to the President and Congress. I heard an Indian refer to the flag of the United States as a "damned rag," and spit at it. It was at our table, where the Indian girl had been invited. Some present took offence at it, and it was a very uncomfortable situation. I understood it, and tried to explain away the antagonism it caused. You can see from this the point I make. The young must be taught to respect the flag and the government, and fit themselves to enter into competition with their white brothers — socially and commercially.

Very sincerely yours,

EDWIN MORDANT.

70 West 47th Street, New York City, November 18, 1913.



Denver, Colorado, October 17, 1913.

TO THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS:

At a meeting of the associate members of your Society, held on October 17, 1913, they directed their officers to express to you their appreciation of your courtesy in allowing them the privilege of the floor in the various sessions of this conference; to signify their cordial approval of the policies and principles which are dominating your efforts for the benefit of the race; and their hearty congratulations upon the excellence of the *QUARTERLY JOURNAL*, issued through the office of your Secretary.

They also desired to assure you of their intention to co-operate with you in every way in which they can be of service; and, in par-

ticular, with your consent, to undertake to extend as far as possible the associate membership of the organization, to the end that there may be as strong a financial backing as possible for the support of your activities, and that the enlarged membership may promote the educational campaign which you are carrying on with Congress and the country.

F. A. MCKENZIE,
Chairman,
JOHN CARL PARISH,
Secretary.



The Navajo Troubles

December 3, 1913.

To the Editor:

Answering your letter of November 21, in which you ask me if there is any way possible for me to give you an open statement of the Navajo trouble which has spread like wild fire over the country, I have to say that inasmuch as the papers have greatly exaggerated the affair and to do justice to the agent, W. T. Shelton, in the unjust criticisms of his acts, I think it proper that some other than the agent report the true facts of the case, so that the public may know the circumstances.

To understand the case, I will have to tell you its history. Ever since the establishment of this school and agency, in 1904, there was a band, principally of one family, located about thirty-five miles southwest of the agency. They have been hostile and unfriendly to the agent. They did not approve of a school being erected on the reservation. They have repeatedly told the agent that they would not send their children to school and that they would rather have their "heads cut off" than to see their children in school. They have opposed every move that the agent has made towards advancing their interests.

It is a policy of the Indian Bureau at Washington that plural marriages should be done away with. From the very beginning, Mr. Shelton has impressed upon the minds of the Navajos of doing away with this practice and he, also, has told them that those who had more than one wife before he took charge would not be compelled or forced to live with one wife.

One day last summer, a Navajo reported that a medicine man by the name of Ha-tah-le Yazza had killed his (Navajo's) wife, had brought whiskey onto the reservation, and had three wives. Now, when anything is reported at the office, it is the duty of the agent to look into the matter, and accordingly he sent for the medicine man and his three wives. It so happened that Ha-tah-le Yazza was not at home, and the policeman waited two or three days for his return, but he did not come within that time and the policeman came in with the women.

Ha-tah-le Yazza is the son of Be-zho-se, the leader or head medicine of the hostile band spoken of. Through some misunderstanding, the policeman told Be-zho-se to come in. Be-zho-se came and saw Mr. Shelton and promised that he would persuade his son to come in and settle the trouble. In the meantime, the three women were kept in a hogan near the agency. They were not locked up, nor were they put to work other than to get their own meals. They had plenty to eat, as I did the issuing, which was about the same as they get at home.

Be-zho-se kept a part of his promise in bringing his son to the agency, but did not attempt to settle the trouble. About ten men came in with them, prepared to overpower the police, or any other opposition they might meet. About eight employees, including myself and one policeman, formed a line across the road to parley with them and to induce them to stop their riotous actions. They were not in the mood for parleying, and after a few words they charged our line, brandishing their weapons at the same time. In the melee they struck the policeman over the head with quirts, knocking him down, and stole his revolver. They would have probably trampled him with their horses had we not come to his rescue. In our attempt to parley with them we were unable to induce three school boys to do the interpreting, because they were too frightened at the kind of language the old Navajos were using, which ran something like this: "Let us kill them; we'll eat them alive; we'll run over them." We were not armed, as we were not anticipating any trouble.

After riding through our line, they went to the trading post, which is about a mile east of the agency. There they bought dyes to paint their horses and themselves, preparing to go on the war-path. The trader 'phoned down that he had overheard their talk, in which two of the agency employees were concerned. He told

us to get under cover as they were coming back to get the farmer-in-charge and the policeman, Agent Shelton being away at the time. We were well prepared to receive them, had they made the second invasion. They camped some distance from the store during the remainder of the day and about sunset they rode in haste for their homes.

Rumors have reached here from time to time that the renegades would make a raid on the agency. At one time we 'phoned to Farmington and nearby towns for help in case the Navajos came, hence the newspaper sensations which caused some apprehension and criticisms of the methods pursued in getting the renegades. These renegades have been given every opportunity to surrender and they have done so, I'm glad to say, but not until the troops had been called in.

After the recusant band had come in here and committed a riot and other crimes, warrants were issued for them and placed in the hands of a United States marshal. The agent and the marshal tried every effort to induce the Indians to surrender, but with no success. The Indian Department at Washington sent Inspector McLaughlin as its personal representative. The inspector went out to their locality and had an interview with these people but was unable, like all others, to induce them to change their attitude and surrender in a peaceful way. They said they were prepared to fight and were not going to be taken alive. After exhausting every effort, the inspector recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that troops be sent. The marshal, who had the warrants, had already asked for troops.

The troops were sent out under the command of General Hugh L. Scott, who has a wide reputation for dealing with hostile Indians. He was able to make them surrender without bloodshed and without making any concessions or promises.

These Indians have been treated like any other people who act as they have done. They have been indicted in the regular way and they will be given a fair trial in court. We are trying to show these Indians that the law of the land is supreme for the Indian, as well as the white man.

Members of the hostile band are wanted for more offenses than the ones I have named; two of them are wanted for horse stealing, three for cattle stealing, and one for raping his stepdaughter, a very young girl.

Now, to the unjust criticisms of Mr. Shelton (I say unjust because they are for the most of them of the malicious kind), they do not tend to improve or elevate, but to give a black eye and to destroy. I do not think Mr. Shelton would object to any criticism given in the right spirit or one that would improve or elevate. His enemies have tried every way to oust him; in their attempts they have filed charge after charge and have written to influential people to seek their end. But all these attempts have failed. Why? Because, when the final "show-down" came there was nothing to the charges. I have been here four years, and in that time I have failed to notice any crooked work or dishonesty on the part of Mr. Shelton. It is true that he is firm and keeps good discipline in school and on the reservation, but he does not abuse or curse them, nor will he allow any of the employees to do it. He makes the Indians work for everything they get in the way of agricultural implements; the result is that when an Indian comes in he asks the price of what he wants, instead of begging for it.

I'm defending Mr. Shelton, not because he is my superior, but because I think him to be honest and conscientious in his work, and when I have reasons to know that a man is honest, he will get my support if he needs it.

The foregoing, I think, will give you an idea of the Navajo trouble. If I have not made myself clear I will be at your service in describing more fully any point you wish. Everything here is above board and you may use my name if you wish. I stand ready to back up the article. Everything is all right now. The trouble did not include more than fifteen at the most, and four of them surrendered peacefully to the agent.

I will be pleased to know what use you will make of this article or whatever comment you may make.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES J. GREEN.

*San Juan Agency,
Shiprock, N. Mex.*



Mr. Kesis Cuts the Rope

To the Editor:

I thought I would write to you about Mr. Frank Kesis, he was visiting with my Uncle Joe Pete just after they came home from

the Conference at Denver, Colorado. And he told us about an incident once he had with a company of soldiers on the Pottawatomie Reservation. These soldiers had been ordered from Leavenworth, Kansas, possibly to round up some Indians which, according to false statements, were going to start an uprising. The party concerned in this incident was Mr. James Blandin. I can not explain to you the particulars, but any way James Blandin went around amongst the Chiefs and headmen of the Pottawatomies, went around with a petition and to every one of the big men and asked them, " My friend, do you hate me?" Well the Indian, not knowing what Mr. Blandin means, says to him " No, I don't hate you—what do I want to hate you for?" Mr. Blandin takes out his petition and says to the Indian, " Well, sign your name here then." Done this till every Indian signed his name. James Blandin then came to Mr. Kesis and asked him same question, " Do you hate me?" Mr. Kesis tells him, " Yes, I hate you," and went on to explain everything why he so disliked him and Mr. Blandin just beg to be forgiven and went so far as to cry, but Mr. Kesis would not sign his name to the petition. Well, the soldiers came and Kesis was captured with his interpreter and another woman, taken to the Agency and given the understanding that they are prisoners of war. But Kesis does not know why he should be a prisoner and so decides to go back home, but confronted by the Captain of the soldiers who read to him something writing in the paper by the Captain. Well by his interpreter he says a few words to the Captain and crawls over the rope along with his party of three and Oh! how the Captain did curse, and called to the soldiers to mount and head the Indians off and make a line also with a rope. Well, Kesis comes to this line again and given a warning by the Captain not to cross the line this time, but consider himself a prisoner. Well, Kesis explains a few words with the Captain and tells him he must go on and same time cuts the rope with a pocket knife and goes on with his party, and the next stop and line they come to Kesis is given a warning by the Captain that if he ventures to cross the line this time he and his party would be shot down by the soldiers, and also read to him a big long sheet of paper; and then Kesis returns a few sharp answers to the Captain telling him he does not care for the soldiers, for him, either, and same time cutting the rope with his knife and on he goes with his party and the Captain hollered at his soldiers, " Shoot 'em! shoot the damn Indians!" and the Indian woman just screamed and begged Kesis to turn back. No! but

Keesis and his interpreter both took the woman by the hand and told her to come on and so the Captain thought he would try once more and this time Keesis talked right up to the Captain's face and shook his fist and made him stand back and scared him and went on again and so the Captain had to let him go, and a few days he called to come to the Agency for explanation on the matter. Well, he went and explained everything and then the soldiers were all fired back to their post, and then the Indians who were prisoners were all turned loose.

I wish you'd ask him to explain everything to you when you see him again, or by letter. This incident happened some time about 15 or 18 years ago and I suppose it is on record somewhere.

Very sincerely your friend,
(Signed) GEORGE MASQUEQUA.

Netawaka, Kas.

Dec. 5, 1913.

P. S.—I wrote Mr. Keesis a card once telling him to write to you about this and the card was stolen from him.



The Pottawatomies Write the Poor Editor

To the Editor:

I write to tell you what Mr. James Blandin said about you and Mr. Sherman Coolidge. He claims that Mr. Sherman Coolidge has been only a slave of the soldiers and he says about you that you are only a poor man does not know how to get money after being attending school all your life and that you and Mr. Coolidge have organized an Union to practice defrauding all of the Indians, does do nothing but make money off of the Indians. I had talk with him in the afternoon of the Thanksgiving day. This is the statement by your friend, Mr. Frank Keesis.

And here is another statement by other members of the Pottawatomie tribe of Indians assembled at the Council at the home of Frank Keesis. We the undersigned do make a statement about this man Mr. James Blandin, this man is only a white man but talks as good a language as any member of the Pottawatomie tribe of Indians. And we as members of the Pottawatomie tribe of Indians do say that Mr. James Blandin has been an interpreter for the tribe for several years by an agreement that he draw an annuity

money but not given an allotment. And at the present time he (Mr. James Blandin) has got land here on the Reservation, he has two 80's and besides his children have got 160 acres a piece. This all at the present. Signed by the tribe.

Frank Keesis \times , and other members of Prairie Pottawatomies.
 his
 mark

Joe Pete \times , Joe Ignatius, Cha-ka-bee \times , George Masquequa
 his
 mark

Nah-ne-nim-nuk-shkuk \times , No-zhae-kum \times .
 his
 mark



Help After Four Years' Striving

ONE OF MANY SIMILAR LETTERS SHOWING HOW THE SOCIETY
 HELPS

BEND, OREGON, Sept. 28, 1913.

To the Secretary The Society of American Indians:

DEAR SIR.—I have just received my warrant which had been lying in the office since last April. I am very thankful to you for the help you have extended me. I am very happy to have it after all this long (four years') delay and feel greatly indebted to you.

I am yours respectfully,

MRS. MILLIE C. PRESCOTT.



U. S. Department Letters

The Navajo Situation Settled

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1913.

Mr. ARTHUR C. PARKER, *Secretary-Treasurer The Society of the American Indians, Albany, New York:*

MY DEAR MR. PARKER.—I have your letter enclosing a communication from John G. Worth, in which he discusses the Navajo situation in so far as it relates to the acute trouble recently terminated there.

I am pleased to have the view point of Mr. Worth and have carefully read what he has to say concerning this matter and other things pertaining thereto.

I am very much gratified with the termination of this situation, and am pleased to advise that from the beginning we proceeded with great caution and moderation; and everything considered, I feel that it was handled as satisfactory as we could determine from this distance. It was our great desire that no unnecessary force be used and I am certain you have observed that the Indian end of it all was constantly and thoughtfully kept in mind.

It is gratifying now to realize that in the settlement of such matters we are keeping pace with the progressive spirit of our civilization, and that in this particular instance we were able without the loss of life or the use of force to effect its adjustment in such a way as to leave even better feeling between the Navajo Indians and the Indian Bureau than has heretofore existed.

I am very favorably impressed with the Navajoes as a whole, but I realize that, like other tribes and other people, they are not entirely perfect, and that good administration requires that in solving their problems all these things must be taken into consideration, and that when conditions properly require it, firmness is quite as important as kindness.

However, it is my experience that kindness should be the dominating factor, and that in the larger conception of administration it is the most potent instrument for the accomplishment of betterments.

With kindest personal regards, and wishing for you a happy ending of the old year and a large share in the good things of the new one, I am

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) CATO SELLS,
Commissioner.



The Fort Sill Apache Land Question

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

WASHINGTON, November 24, 1913.

Mr. ARTHUR C. PARKER, *Secretary Society of American Indians, Barrister Building, Washington, D. C.:*

MY DEAR MR. PARKER.—The Department is in receipt of your undated letter requesting immediate consideration of the Fort Sill Apache Indians, particularly that part of the band electing to remain

in Oklahoma. You submit a statement with reference to these Indians presented to the Society at a recent convention held in Denver, Colorado, by Henry Roe Cloud.

No doubt you are aware of the fact that of the entire membership formerly at Fort Sill, 186 of these Indians elected to remove to the Mescalero Reservation, New Mexico, being affiliated by blood with the Indians of that reservation. However, 76 remained in Oklahoma, and Congress, by the Acts of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. L., 534), and June 30, 1913 (Public No. 4), appropriated \$300,000 to be expended in the discretion of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Interior in the relief and settlement of these Indians and the acquisition of land for their benefit. Nothing is said in either act as to the quantity or character of land to be acquired for these Indians, but the Act of June 30, 1913, *supra*, does provide that when lands have been purchased for said Fort Sill Indians it shall be subject to the provisions of the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 388), as amended, and that trust patents shall issue in accordance with the provisions of said act.

The Act of February 8, 1887, *supra*, as amended, limits the quantity of land that can be allotted to any one Indian to not to exceed 40 acres of irrigable, 80 acres of non-irrigable agricultural, or 160 acres of non-irrigable grazing land. As just suggested, however, it is not believed that the Act of June 30, 1913, limits the number of acres that can be acquired for each Indian of the Fort Sill band, but does require that when the number of acres deemed necessary to acquire for the benefit of each member of this band shall have been purchased, trust patent shall then issue in accordance with the provisions of the General Allotment Act, as amended.

Again, it is the present intention to purchase for those members of this band electing to remain in Oklahoma allotments from lands which have heretofore been allotted to Indians of the Kiowa tribe, but which are now available for purchase under either the Inherited Indian Land Act of May 27, 1902 (32 Stat. L., 275), the so-called Non-competent Act of March 1, 1907 (34 Stat. L., 1018), or the Act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 855). When the original allotments were made to the Kiowa Indians the country was then considered as mainly valuable for grazing purposes and accordingly the lands were allotted in tracts of 160 acres. Agricultural development may, in a number of cases, suggest a different classification at this time, but even if a part of the lands to be acquired for the

Fort Sill Indians is agricultural in character, yet, as above stated, it is not believed that the Act of June 30, 1913, limits the number of acres that can be given to each member of this band, but does specify that when the land has been acquired, regardless of the number of acres to be given each Indian, a trust patent, in accordance with the General Allotment Act, as amended, shall issue.

It remains, therefore, simply a question of whether sufficient funds are at hand to purchase for the 76 Indians remaining in Oklahoma 160 acres of good agricultural land, which is suggested by Mr. Henry Roe Cloud.

The Indian Office informs me that some 53 petitions for sale covering Kiowa allotments, which it is contemplated purchasing for the Fort Sill Apaches, have been submitted by field officers. An examination of these petitions discloses that the aggregate price for each 160-acre tract ranges from \$1,800 to \$4,000, presumably the price being in accordance with the character of the land.

Even at \$3,000 per 160-acre tract, \$228,000 would be required to provide for the 76 Indians remaining in Oklahoma. Of the appropriation in the two acts mentioned, some \$70,000 has already been expended in removing to the Mescalero Reservation, New Mexico, the 187 members of this band electing to go there, including, of course, their household goods, personal property, stock, etc. These Indians on the Mescalero Reservation will need additional expenditures for their relief and for the purchase of additional equipment with which to operate and improve their home sites. It is not seen, therefore, how 160 acres can be purchased for each one of these Indians who elected to remain in Oklahoma if the average cost of each 160-acre tract is to be \$3,000, unless additional appropriations are made by Congress.

It is the intention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to proceed immediately to purchase 160 acres of improved land for each head of a family, provided the price to be paid therefor does not exceed \$3,000 for each tract so purchased, and thereafter to acquire 160 acres for each single person at not to exceed \$2,000. This is in accordance with the reports and estimates submitted to the Congress when the additional appropriation of \$100,000 made by the Act of June 30, 1913, was being considered.

It may be said further that should any members of this band in Oklahoma, either heads of families or single persons, prefer to receive less than 160 acres in quantity, so as to acquire a better character of land, he will be permitted to indicate the quantity,

character and location of the land desired, provided the price to be paid therefor does not exceed the amounts above specified.

The matter will be given careful consideration, with a view of working out a plan which will prove satisfactory to all parties concerned.

Cordially yours,
(Signed) A. A. JONES,
First Assistant Secretary.

Approved:

(Signed) LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

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ies